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THE  
FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI  
WITH  
TRANSCRIPTIONS AND COMMENTARIES.







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THE  
FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI

WITH  
TRANSCRIPTIONS, COMMENTARIES

AND  
INDEX.

BY  
REV. JOHN P. MAHAFFY, D.D., F.T.C.D.

AUTOTYPES I. to XXX.



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No. VIII.

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ON THE FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI, By REV. JOHN P. MAHAFFY, D.D.  
(With Autotypes I. to XXX.)

[Read DECEMBER 8, 1890.]

§ 1. **Introduction.**—Egypt, the land of many wonders, has at no time been more prolific in surprises than during the present generation. Not only have the indigenous records now yielded their secrets to the inquirer, but more careful and scientific search has detected mines of hidden wealth where our forefathers only saw the sands and the rocky defiles of the desert. When a nation civilized for a myriad of years has crowded a narrow country, and left records in every generation, we need hardly wonder that almost every acre of soil should hide some relic of bygone men. But when we further consider that the dryness of the climate, and the solidity of the temples and the tombs, made even the most delicate fabric everlasting, or covered it with an everlasting shelter, we feel justified in hopes which have not yet been satisfied, even after many brilliant realizations. The sudden and romantic capture of the royal mummies from their gloomy hiding place in 1881, and the appearance of the famous Rameses II. in the Boulaq Museum, followed by the very similar discovery just announced (March, 1891), from Thebes, are but the most impressive, not the most instructive, of the successes in recent Egyptology. Not only is the great Museum at Cairo one of the most wonderful in the world, though it depends for its supply upon its own country alone, but all the Museums of Europe—at



Turin, Vienna, Rome, Paris, Berlin, London—are yearly enriching themselves with splendid Egyptian monuments and records. Nay, even private researches are producing large results; and those who had the privilege of seeing Mr. Petrie's collection last autumn in London can realize how much is still left for such an explorer to uncover and to explain. But, alas! the patient man of genius, who knows not only how to find, but how to preserve, not only how to gather, but how to distinguish, has been followed by the vulgar tourist who defaces and destroys, who by lavishing money ignorantly and at random promotes among the natives not only the practice of forging antiquities, but the habit of defacing or dividing precious documents, for the purpose of selling them in morsels. It is but recently that attention has been publicly called to the lamentable Vandalism which is daily destroying what had lasted intact for thousands of years. In this sad work foreigners have done most mischief in chipping or fracturing stone monuments; the natives, who have learned the value of papyrus rolls, have been the chief culprits in dividing or even cutting into pieces the written documents, which form so interesting a department of Egyptian antiquities.\*

§ 2. **Papyri.**—Of these the hieroglyphic or hieratic documents form a great department in themselves, from which we have learned not only the annals of the kings, but the religion of the people, the morals in which they were educated, their epic poetry, and even the fictions which amused their leisure. Nothing has contributed so much to the preservation of this mass of interesting documents, which I classified and described in a work now twenty years old,† as the excellent fibrous material discovered and used by the Egyptians, and from them carried abroad to the civilized nations of antiquity. The use of leather or parchment, and also of real paper, is indeed attested by the actual existence of two or three early hieroglyphic documents written on the former material, as well as by the scraps (of later

\* According to Volney, the first great find of papyri, in a box near Memphis, when offered for sale, and declined, was burned by the local sheiks: cf. *Notices et Extraits* of the Louvre collection, vol. xviii., pt. ii., p. 6.

† *Prolegomena to Ancient History*, Longmans, 1871. Cf. especially the last chapter. Of course many have since come to light.



date) on linen paper among the Rainer collection; but on papyrus we have many thousand texts, including the rolls found at Herculaneum, so that we may regard it as the common writing material of the ancient world, till the monopoly of its produce in the Delta produced a scarcity,\* which increased with the troubles of the world till this great manufacture became wholly extinct. The very plant which we now admire in the greenhouses of our Botanical Gardens, disappeared from Egypt, so that hardly any curiosity would now cause more interest than the finding of this natural growth on its indigenous soil. It is difficult to say how much the loss of such a portable and durable material for writing may have contributed to the decay and disappearance of learning in the dark ages.

§ 3. **Demotic Papyri.**—The earlier specimens of writing on papyrus, to which I have alluded, here concern me no longer, for I am about to describe documents written in Greek, and Greek only. But I will say a word on the intermediate stage, that of *demotic* writing, which began very early, especially for secular purposes, and lasted along with Greek till it was replaced by the Coptic of the Christian Church. In this *demotic*, or *enchorial* as it used to be called, there are indeed some novels and other literary works extant, and our bilingual inscriptions, those of Rosetta and Canopus, give their Egyptian version not only in hieroglyphics, but in the cursive script of everyday life. Business was, however, the principal subject of that demotic writing, in which contracts, bills of labour, accounts, and all fugitive memoranda were scribbled down. We find such not only on papyrus, and frequently on the back of a leaf already used for other writing, but on those potsherds known as *ostraka*, of which mounds have been recently found in several parts of Egypt. The deciphering of these fugitive demotic writings is very difficult, and unfortunately not by any means so far advanced as that of other Egyptian writing, seeing that the two greatest authorities on this point, Brugsch and Revillout, are at open variance in their interpretations. Nor can we hope to reconstruct adequately the private life of the later Egyptians till this riddle also has been satisfactorily solved. Fortunately, M. Maspero and some able younger

\* Cf. Strabo, xvii. 1, § 15.



men in France are now attacking the problem, and we may hope presently to have the controversies regarding it allayed and forgotten in the lessons of reliable interpretation.

§ 4. **Greek Papyri and Ostraka.**—I have delayed for a moment upon these demotic documents, because the great body of the Greek documents found in Egypt are of the same character.\* When the Macedonians conquered Egypt, and replaced the indigenous monarchy by that of the Ptolemies, the first new ruler, a sagacious and practical man, adopted as much as possible of the local traditions and habits in his system of government, and disturbed as little as possible the ordinary course of affairs. Petty magistrates were still generally Egyptians, and administered law according to Egyptian practice; all the contracts of the natives were still written in demotic, and dated in Egyptian fashion. Even when the Macedonians spread Greek through the country, and made Greek settlements in the interior, we now know that from the beginning they dated by Egyptian months, as well as Macedonian, and that the better calendar of Egypt presently replaced the Macedonian for all but solemn legal acts.† Gradually all the everyday work in the Greek-speaking towns throughout Egypt began to appear in Greek in the same way that demotic had been employed, on the backs of papyrus sheets, and upon countless potsherds. The cursive Greek upon these *ostraka* is so difficult to decipher that it required all the skill of the late Mr. Birch, of Mr. Sayce, and of M. Wilcken to detect the meaning. Similar

\* Among the many papyrus shreds of mummy-cases entrusted to me by Mr. Petrie, which I am now separating, cleaning, and reducing to order, demotic and Greek documents are found together, and in about equal quantities, but rarely on the same piece of papyrus. The demotic documents are generally on much browner and coarser papyrus than the Greek.

† Letronne states that in all the documents known to him, he found no case of a date in Macedonian months only. “Au reste j’observe que ces doubles dates sont très rares; la plupart des pièces connues, même écrites par les Grecs, sont datées d’après le calendrier égyptien; quand à celles qui porteraient uniquement la date macédonienne, jusqu’ici je n’en connais pas une seule.” (*Comm. ad Inscript. Rosettan.* in C. Müller, *Fragg. Hist. Græc.*, I., p. 12). The dating of the wills now published seems, therefore, quite an exceptional practice, and one probably abandoned for the Egyptian month, even in such documents, under the later Ptolemies. We now have dozens of dates in Macedonian months only, but all earlier than what Letronne had examined.



difficulties encompassed the Greek papyri which had found their way to Turin, Leyden, and London—brief memoranda, accounts, lists of work and of workmen\*—in explaining which various skilful men, from the Abbé Amadeo Peyron onwards, have shown their ingenuity and acuteness.†

§ 5. **The Rainer Papyri.**—Very recently (in 1882) our materials for study have been largely increased by a mass of papyri acquired in the Fayyum, and brought to Vienna, by the Archduke Rainer; they are in many languages, and of various dates, so that a committee of experts is now publishing them systematically in a periodical specially produced for that purpose. These documents reach indeed over many centuries down to the Mahometan times, and even give us our earliest examples of Arabic; they comprise not only scraps of Hesiod and other classical poets, but even a verse or two from a Gospel earlier in date than any text we had hitherto possessed; but I am not aware that they contain dated Greek documents from any century before the Christian era.‡ We had indeed already acquired in Egypt portions of classical texts, of Homer, of Euripides, of Hypereides, of which from palæographical reasons one or two might be dated as writing of the first century B.C. But the matter was doubtful, and the great body, even of the classical fragments up to this recovered, were clearly post-

\* The abstract of a prolonged and interesting law case, with the arguments of counsel, and many documents, which A. Peyron has printed as his Papyrus A (*Papyri Mus. Taur.*, Turin, 1828), must evidently have been preserved in an earthen pot, as was usual in those days, and so has reached us intact. Thus in the prophet Jeremiah (xxxii. 14) we find: "Take these evidences of the purchase, . . . and put them in an earthen vessel, that they may continue many days." But the Leyden Papyrus A, of which the special contracts have been found in other copies, stands alone for length and explicitness. Two large legal documents of the 5th century were found by Mr. Petrie preserved in this way and in a perfect condition, in 1888. They have been published by Mr. Sayce in the *Revue des Études grecques* for 1889. We have two or three smaller ones from Hawara, in what we may call a Byzantine hand, which are also tolerably complete. But they cannot be included in this Memoir.

† The later accounts and contracts of Roman and early Arab days, which are in the Rainer collection, and at Paris, have been exhaustively treated by Dr. Wessely in vol. xxxvi. of the *Trans. Vienna Academy* (1888)—a model for all future inquiries of the kind.

‡ In the *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erz. Rainer*, i. p. 51, it is announced that Dr. Wessely had found documents dated in the first half of the second century B.C. These seem, up to vol. v., part 2, of the *Mittheilungen* not to have been published.



Christian in date.\* As might be expected from Greek writings in Egypt at such a date, these texts, even those of Homer, the old Bible of the Greeks, were very faulty, and not to be compared with the careful MSS. which passed from Byzantium and Mount Athos into Europe at the Renascence of Greek learning. Thus Greek classical papyri, unless they gave us texts elsewhere non-existing, have not hitherto been of much value or interest to the classical scholar. But the recovery of three pages of Alcman, of a speech or two of Hypereides, of tragic fragments which we cannot as yet identify, raised the hopes of our Hellenists with the prospect of recovering some larger or older classical texts.

This was the general condition of our knowledge concerning the Greek-speaking population of Egypt which came in with the Ptolemies. The earlier and strictly local settlements at Naukratis and Daphne do not concern us here, and have been treated in very able and complete monographs by Mr. Petrie and Mr. E. Gardner.†

§ 6. **Bibliography.**—For those who desire more particular knowledge I here append a list of the publications of Ptolemaic Greek documents now accessible, to which I shall refer constantly in the following pages.

The first inquirer into this department of Egyptian history was Letronne, whose two great works, *Récherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, &c. (1823), and *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte* (1842–8), as well as his *Fragments inédits d'anciens poètes grecs*, &c. (1851), and his excellent monographs on the *Vocal Statue of Memnon*, and on the *Greek text of the Rosetta inscription* (in C. Müller's *Fragg. Histor. Græcorum*, vol. i., appendix, 1851–3) will never be out of date.

Next comes Am. Peyron, whose *Papyri Græci Reg. Taurinensis Musei Ægyptii* (3 parts in 1 vol., Turin, 1824) is still a standard work.

Meanwhile the British Museum papyri had been published for the Trustees by Jos. Forshall (Part I., 1829); and in the same year appeared,

\* This is the case also with the recently discovered *Polity of the Athenians*, the lost tract attributed to Aristotle which has been recently published by the Trustees of the British Museum. The MS. is not earlier than 80–100 A.D.

† See the publications of the Egypt Exploration Society, vols. iii. and vi.



from the pen of Reuvens, *Lettres à M. Letronne sur les papyrus bilingues du Musée de Leide* (1829), followed by C. Leemans *Papyri Græci Musei Lugdunensis Bat.* (Leyden, 1829 ; 2nd series, 1885).

The Louvre papyri are fac-similed and commented on in vol. xviii. of the *Notices et Extraits* published by the French Government from that great collection, with a separate volume of transliteration and commentary by Letronne and Brunet de Presle, 1858. Since that we have also Miller's *Mélanges de Litt. grecque*, and E. Egger's Essay (*Journal des Savants*, 1873), on the *Papyri Sakkini*.

The vastly increased treasures of the British Museum are at this moment in process of being autotyped and published by the great specialists of that Institution.

The first attempts to produce the Berlin fragments was made by Parthey in 1864 (*Ægypt. Personen-namen*, &c.), 1865 (the magical papyri),\* and in 1869.

These older sources, all relating to a very restricted group of papyri found at Thebes or Memphis, and mostly belonging to the Serapeum, but if restricted, for that reason elucidating each other, have told us of the Pagan monastic life and its difficulties, of the grasping spirit of corporations, and the difficulties of obtaining legal redress, of the value of house and landed property, &c., under the seventh and eighth Ptolemies. We may add A. Boeckh's great *Corpus Inscript. Græc.*, vol. iii., Nos. 4677–4978, relating to Egypt ; for though he does not profess to give anything but inscriptions upon stone, he prints among them fac-similes of cursive notes, especially from Philæ, which are of great use in deciphering the more fugitive writings on papyrus and on the ostraka.

The same thing may be said of Ad. Schmidt's *Forschungen*, and of Lepsius' splendid *Denkmäler*, in the latter of which many of the texts already published by Letronne, notably those scratched upon the statue of

\* The magical papyri—a large and special inquiry—are now best studied in the 2nd part of of Leemans' *Leiden Papyri*, and in the masterly article of Dr. Wessely, in vol. xxxvi. of the *Trans. Vienna Acad.* (1888), who there prints a perfect volume of hymns, incantations, and other curious texts hitherto lying unpublished in the collections of London and Paris, with a very careful index.

Memnon, were fac-similed to perfection. Lepsius also gave us the Greek, as well as the Egyptian, text of the *Inscription of Canopus* in a monograph (*Das Dekret von Canopus*, Berlin, 1866). The more recent literature upon it has been cited by W. N. Groff, in the *Revue égyptologique*, vi. 1, p. 12.

But for some years there was a lull in these studies, for no good fortune added to the celebrated Anastasi collection, which formed the staple of the publications I have named, in which the earlier Ptolemaic days were not at all represented—the Canopus stone giving us, for the first time, a dated document of the third Ptolemy in his ninth year. Still there were occasional discoveries of scraps of Homer, of Euripides, and of other classical writers, which encouraged the hopes of European scholars that in the tombs of Coptic days, when men seem to have sometimes had their books buried with them, treasure might yet be found. These hopes were raised to the highest pitch by the appearance of the Rainer papyri,\* which are, indeed, most various and curious, but too fragmentary and lacerated to be in any sense satisfactory, and almost all dating from centuries posterior to the Christian era—the best of them were from the third and fourth centuries. Meanwhile, Dr. U. Wilcken had also turned his attention to the masses of ostraka inscribed with Greek writing, many of which were discovered by Mr. Sayce.

The newer results have been published as follows:—Prof. Wilcken, in a Latin monograph, *Observ. ad hist. Ægypt. prov. Rom.* (Berlin, 1885), then *Arsinoitische Tempelrechnungen* (*Hermes* xx. and xxi.), *Aktenstücke*, &c., in Trans. Berlin Academy for 1886, and quite recently *Tafeln zur älteren griechischen Palæographie*, a useful work based altogether on Egyptian documents; Dr. C. Wessely, *die Griech. Pap. der K. K. Sammlung Wien's* (1875), and since in *Wiener Studien*, vols. iii. *sqq.*, and especially vol. viii. and ix. (1886–7), as well as in Karabaçeks *Rainer Papyri*, vols. i.–v. (especially i. 30 *sqq.*), and in his exhaustive monograph on the acquisitions of Papyri from the Fayyum (Trans. Vienna Academy, 1888). By the acuteness of these scholars, following as they did in the track of Leemans (*Leiden Papyri*, i. p. 92), and A. Peyron in Parts 2 and 3 of his *Pap. Taur.*,

\* The general account of this discovery was read by Karabaçek before the Vienna Academy (Transactions for 1882, pp. 207 *sqq.*). He there cites the earlier partial accounts (p. 208).



and by the independent researches of A. H. Sayce in the fifth chapter of Mr. Flinders Petrie's *Hawara, Biahmi, and Arsinoe* (1889), and of E. Revillout (*Revue égyptolog.*, 1883, vol. iii. 51 *sqq.*), many signs for measures and sums of money have been determined. Thus we have reached the threshold of that epoch in the discovery and reading of Græco-Egyptian papyri, which is due to the labours of Mr. Flinders Petrie.

§ 7. **Mr. Petrie at Gurob.**—In two earlier volumes, a *Winter in Egypt* (1887), and *Hawara, Biahmi, and Arsinoe* (1889), Mr. Petrie had shown how much there was of interest in the Fayyum, which had not, he says, been examined for 25 years. The fresh and picturesque account of his labours is so recent, and so readily accessible, that I need only refer to his books, and especially to the fifth chapter in the latter work, where Mr. Sayce has given an account of the important fragment of the *Iliad* (from Books I. and II.) found in a coffin under a lady's head, and of many lists of prices and accounts, which are described as blowing about the desert on fragments of papyrus. Mr. Sayce rightly says that the political economy and social life under the Ptolemies, which Lumbroso\* had so ably discussed with insufficient materials, may now be examined with larger and more minute evidence, and that we shall soon know all about prices, taxes, rates of labour, and local administration, from the accumulation of these documents, of which Leemans gave long ago the first important specimens. I will not speak of the curious specimens of Romano-Egyptian portrait-painting on the mummy cases, and the other curiosities brought from Hawara. The following winter's work at Tell Gurob (or Kurob) led to still more astonishing results. So far as I gathered from his personal account,† the coffins at Hawara were of wood, whereas in the necropolis of Tell Gurob they were made of layers of papyrus, torn into small pieces, and stuck together so as to form a thick carton, painted within and without with designs and religious emblems. These carton-cases were made to fit the swathed body; there are at present in my possession several portions rounded to fit the skull, with

\* *Récherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, Turin, 1870.

† The volume containing the record of Mr. Petrie's work in 1889 (*Kahun, Gurob, Hawara*), just published (May, 1891), reserves all mention of the tombs at Gurob for another volume.

even the face shaped and painted, and others fitted to the feet. It was in the structure of these cases that Mr. Petrie detected the use of discarded documents, and forthwith attempted the difficult task of separating and cleaning the various fragments. Most of them were hopelessly destroyed. The thick layer of white chalk or lime laid upon the papyri to form the surface for colouring has in most cases destroyed the ink, if the written surface of the papyrus lay outward. When the several layers were glued together, the binding substance is very strong, and the worms in search of the glue have riddled the whole texture. There are many cases where steeping in water discloses some substance which dissolves into dark-brown juice, and stains the papyrus so as to make all characters illegible. I can speak of these difficulties from personal experience, for Mr. Petrie left in my hands a large number of unseparated fragments of these mummy cases, and I know how hopeless it is in most cases to save anything from the wreck.

Neither he nor I at first knew that this source of possible knowledge concerning the Greeks of Egypt had been discussed by the famous Letronne sixty years ago, for it was only in searching through the older literature of the subject, that I found, in his *Lettre à M. Passelacqua*, printed by M. Brunet de Presle, in the 18th vol. of the *Notices et Extraits* of the Paris MSS., the following prophetic words (p. 410):—

“Quant aux nombreux fragments de papyrus (No. 1564) qui ont servi à former le cartonnage d’une momie, ils sont beaucoup trop mutilés pour qu’on en puisse tirer rien de suivi; on ne voit sur les plus étendus que quelques portions de lignes dont il est impossible de tirer un sens complet. Je me suis donc attaché uniquement à deviner quel a pu être le sujet du papyrus auquel chacun de ces fragments a appartenu; car il eût été curieux de savoir si quelqu’un d’entre eux avait appartenu à une composition littéraire. Mais je n’en ai pas trouvé de trace: tous ces papyrus paraissent avoir rapport à des contrats de vente, à des transactions particulières et à des circulaires administratives. Peut-être, (he adds prophetically) les voyageurs, examinant avec soin les enveloppes de ce genre, trouveront-ils des morceaux où au moins les lignes seront entières. Toutefois je ne croirais pas avoir perdu mon temps si ce que je viens de dire engageait ceux qui exploitent, à Thèbes, une mine si féconde, à



suivre votre exemple et à faire quelque attention aux momies dont les enveloppes seraient formées avec des papyrus; car on ignorait jusqu'ici que *les vieux papiers* avaient quelquefois, en Égypte, cet emploi final."

It seems that, in spite of this advice, the world of antiquarians left Mr. Petrie to rediscover what Passelacqua had already ascertained. I can only congratulate the present age on being more fortunate than that of Letronne. The large supply of such materials since sent to me by Mr. Petrie has indeed only supplied the very kinds which disappointed Letronne—accounts, private letters, and legal reports. But as Letronne adds in conclusion:—"Il est difficile de trouver en Égypte une seule ligne de grec qui ne révèle quelque particularité intéressante pour l'histoire, la langue, ou la connaissance des usages."

§ 8. **The Gurob Papyri.**—Owing, therefore, to Mr. Petrie's good fortune and great care in doing this work, a large number of texts were rescued from oblivion and brought home by him to England, where, with the help of Mr. Sayce and myself they were sorted, and the process of deciphering them was begun. Seldom has it fallen to the lot of modern scholars to spend such days as we spent together at Oxford in the Long Vacation of 1890: poring all day, while the sun shone, over these faint and fragmentary records; discussing in the evening the stray lights we had found and their possible significance. Gradually pieces of a Platonic dialogue emerged, which presently we determined to be the *Phædo*; then a leaf of a tragic poem, identified beyond question as the *Antiope* of Euripides; and with these were many legal or official documents with dates, which arrested and surprised us. For instead of the late Ptolemies, or the Roman emperors, whose names occur in the Greek papyri already found, here we could read nothing but *Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy Soter*, and *Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, brother gods*—in other words, the second and third kings in the series (280–220 B.C.). There could then be no doubt whatever of the significance of the discovery. As there were no dates to be found later than the third Ptolemy, it followed with moral certainty that the classical texts mixed up with these documents could not be younger than 220 B.C. The character in which both the Platonic and the

Euripidean fragments were written, pointed to even an older generation. Neither of them is in any sense cursive; they show forms hardly changed from the lapidary style; and as they can hardly be younger than 250 B.C., so they may even then have been imported into Egypt by the soldiers of fortune who came from all parts of the Greek world, among whose papers they were found. But the palæography of the second and third centuries B.C. (except on stone or bronze) is so novel a field, that we must proceed with the greatest caution.

It is due to the liberality of the Royal Irish Academy that I am able to publish autotype reproductions of a large number of dated papers—letters, accounts of work, testaments, and records of legal decisions. The great difficulties which were encountered in photographing these yellow and faint fragments, in which the fibre is apt to produce shadows which conceal the writing, have been marvellously overcome by the care and skill of the Autotype Company, under the watchful and able direction of Dr. Maunde Thompson, who volunteered to superintend this part of the work. Many of the Autotypes are as clear as the originals; in all, the student will see enough to justify the decipherment, though many syllables may appear to him effaced, which can still be read.

The variety in the writing of these documents, even in those dated the same year, shows that we are dealing with a society where writing was widely diffused, and practised with great freedom.\* Still the student will look in vain, except in a few very small cursive notes, for any handwriting of the excessive difficulty found in the Leyden and British Museum documents which are subsequent to the seventh Ptolemy. Contractions had not yet come into use in copying legal documents; the names of priests and the details in giving the dates, are not abridged or slurred over; when the characters are not effaced they can usually be read with ordinary care. But without the right clue all cursive writing is most difficult, and I shall never forget the sense of relief when I guessed the formula **NOWN KAI ΦPONΩN** to be that of a testator—*being of sound mind and clear understanding*—and so broke the seals which hid from me a long series of important texts. The recurrence of fixed formulæ is of course a great help in discoveries

\* Cf. U. Wilcken's *Observationes*, p. 35, on this subject.



of this kind. The smallest fragment of one of these, when deciphered, may give the key for the yet illegible remainder, and tell how many letters have been lost in a mutilated line. The mere name of a priest of Alexander, or a Canephorus of Arsinoe Philadelphus, when once identified, may tell the year of the king, and fix the date as perfectly as if we possessed the whole formula. Interesting variations in the fixed phrases of some of the legal documents will in due time come under discussion.

I have already mentioned the store of unseparated fragments, sent to me by Mr. Petrie upon his departure for Egypt in November, 1890, which I am now endeavouring daily to explicate and to read. But this new task, with its possibilities and hopes, cannot be recorded in the present Memoir, which, indeed, already contains materials enough to satisfy the most exacting lover of antiquarian novelties.

§ 9. **Classification of the Texts.**—The order which I have adopted in treating of this great variety of documents is the following:—I have put first the classical texts, as they will probably interest the largest number of my readers, and have separated them into poetry and prose. The fragments of the *Antiope* accordingly come first (I. and II.), and then two brief scraps of Epicharmus and Euripides, and of dramatic authors I cannot identify (III. and IV.). Next come the prose remains, viz. the fragments of Plato's *Phædo* (V.—VIII.), followed by a page from a discourse on good-fellowship (*φιλευταιρία*), and by a couple of other scraps, one of which seems to be a description of the funeral customs of various nations (IX.—X.). To these must be added one of the fragments on XXIV., which contains a text to be found in the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, and which therefore represents the original of Alkidamas, from which the author of the extant tract is known to have copied. This group, showing us the literary furniture of the Fayyum veterans, seems to me to have been written in the hand of many of our dated fragments, whereas both the *Antiope* and the *Phædo* show a certain contrast in their more finished calligraphy to the rest of these documents.

Turning next to the everyday papers of the Greeks in the *Arsinoitic nome*, we are naturally first attracted by a long series of wills, or rather official

copies of wills, which have no parallel, so far as I know, in any of the Greek papyri hitherto known, except so far as they are legal documents in the form of contracts, with details of property, and signed by witnesses fully described. As a large number of these copies was entered in each year, and in parallel columns, upon the official sheets which have come into our possession, we can not only produce handwritings of several definite years, especially in the third Ptolemy's reign, but we can even show the varieties of writing which existed at the same moment in this corner of the Greek world in the third century before Christ. From a palæographical point of view this information is not only entirely new, but of the last importance. It will enable us to fix approximately the age of classical papyri found, or yet to be found, in Egypt;\* and these clear and more explicit documents will help to explain the crabbed and difficult abbreviations so puzzling in later papyri. For in this age, though there was small cursive writing to me almost undecipherable, the use of abbreviations appears almost unknown. Except for the word *year*, for the names of coins and measures (*drachme*, *artaba*, &c.) and for some military title, which is represented by a hieroglyph (cf. XI., lines 13, 19, 21), I cannot cite any instance of abbreviations in what I have been able to read.† But I shall postpone further observations upon the palæographical side of these discoveries to the close of this Memoir.

I begin with two fragments which have lost their date, because I think

\* Thus a letter published in Leemans' collection (Pap. Q.), and dated the 26th year of a Philadelphus, whom he takes to be the third of that title (Ptolemy Dionysos) seems to me, from the likeness of the hand to that of a letter I have reproduced (XXIX.), to date 200 years earlier, and to belong to the days of the first Philadelphus (Ptolemy II.). I have since found that this conjecture, made purely upon palæographical grounds, is independently maintained by Revillout (*Rev. égyptol.* iii. 83) with several weighty arguments, and assumed as proved by Wilcken (*Tafeln*, p. x. (b)). In the forthcoming publication of the British Museum papyri, there are also one or two documents, which Dr. Maunde Thompson, by the light of the new evidence produced in this Memoir, places in the third century B.C. The Sakkini (or Sakkakini) Papyrus, to which E. Egger (*op. cit.*) could give no definite date, is undoubtedly not later than the third, and probably of the second, Ptolemy's time.

† I have since found in the heading of an account dated the 20th year of Ptolemy III. (226 B.C.)  $\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\rho\omicron\kappa\omicron\delta\iota\lambda\omega\nu$   $\curvearrowright$  which must be a rough sketch of  $\overline{\Pi}$  =  $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota$ : cf. the  $\pi$  found in some of the cursive alphabets reproduced at end of this memoir.



their handwriting points to one differing somewhat from the rest, and because internal evidence leads me to ascribe this date to the earliest period of the settlement. The details I shall give in their proper place. I proceed with the fragments of dated wills, from the 10th, 12th, and 22nd years of the third Ptolemy (237, 235, 225 B.C.), to which I add one or two pieces interesting either for their contents or for their peculiar handwriting. XXII. and XXIII. give us a bill of labour in a very early cursive hand, dated the 36th year of the second Ptolemy, and seem to refer to the marking out of the lots to the settlers in the Fayyum. There follow a number of brief legal documents (XXIV.–XXVII.) chiefly records of judgments, or of public works, some of which reach back to the earlier years of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

This selection from the mass of papyri before me, though it comprises so many pieces of large interest, is by no means complete. The accounts of overseers (such as XXIII.) and tax-gatherers, which Mr. Sayce has taken for his special study, are both numerous and important, and will be made by him the subject of special publications, which will also include many interesting private letters, of which he has already given specimens in this year's number (xvii.) of *Hermathena*. They are very analogous to the letters in the Louvre collection. Of these letters, I have also given two specimens (XXIX., XXX.), and should have given more had I had access to the papers locked up at Oxford, and awaiting his return. But to describe all the texts of our discovery in the present Report would both tax the liberality of the Academy, already so largely vouchsafed, beyond all fair limits, and would, moreover, impose upon me a task requiring years of time and of special studies. I have indeed frequently paused during the preparation of the present Memoir, and asked myself whether some more experienced palæographer should not have undertaken it. But it was hard to refuse so tempting a piece of work, first generously accorded to me by the gifted discoverer and his counsellor, Mr. Sayce; then supported by the enlightened liberality of the Royal Irish Academy, whose President and Council have prompted this publication; I have been advised, moreover, by the unfailing courtesy and the large experience of Dr. Maunde Thompson, of the British Museum,

and aided with assiduity and care by several of my younger colleagues in Trinity College, whose names will frequently appear in the following pages. And if I have thus been the means of bringing this remarkable discovery to the great Irish seats of learning, I have at least done my utmost to secure its prompt transmission to the world. It will be the province of greater experts to fill up the gaps which are still left in the interpretation of these priceless documents.

I have given as far as I could a transcription of the text of each fragment into ordinary Greek letters, and when desirable a translation—not, of course, of the *Phædo*, of which good translations are easily accessible. In the *Antiope* fragments, I have only transcribed the very letters I could read, now more correctly and fully than before, and have given all conjectures and emendations in the annexed Commentary.\* Several imperfections in my former transcript, owing to the letters being disguised by small fragments of clay of exactly the same colour as the papyrus, have now been removed. In the other Autotypes I have supplied the missing parts either from our received texts of Plato, or from the study of parallel documents which suggest the missing words, especially in the wills. In this work, I cannot hope to have avoided mistakes; I shall only quote the words with which the Abbé Peyron concludes a kindred inquiry: “Superest, ut viri docti æqui bonique faciant conatus meos. Ac facient profecto si secum recogitent prima tentamina in re non bene perspecta optima esse, si mediocritatem attingant.” I have not always found my critics so reasonable.

It now only remains for me to add some account of what we already know, or may fairly infer, from these texts, concerning the history and condition of the Greek society in the Fayyum in the days of the early Ptolemies.

§ 10. **Historical—Ptolemy Philadelphus.**—A brief survey of the reigns of the two Ptolemies with whom we are concerned will be sufficient.

\* I need hardly remind the reader, that with very faint traces before us, the divining of the sense often precedes the correct decipherment. But the divination which can be tested by the extant vestiges of the text are far more satisfactory than those which demand assent on purely subjective grounds.



I have already discussed their position in the Hellenistic world in another work;\* and those who desire fuller details will find the chronology in Clinton, and the political and economic details discussed in Droysen's *Geschichte des Hellenismus*. The only English history of the Ptolemies is in Sharpe's *History of Egypt*, a meritorious but now superannuated book.

The second Ptolemy, who was the first to call himself Philadelphus, owing to his strong attachment to his second queen, Arsinoë, who was also his full sister, succeeded to the throne upon the abdication of his father Ptolemy Soter in 284 B.C., and reigned till 247–6 B.C. Though Soter died within two years of his abdication, it seems, from the researches of M. Revillout and some earlier numismatists (*Études égyptol.*, vol. i., pp. 12 *sqq.*), that his name was used upon coins and in official proclamations for several years longer. This fact is important, and perplexing in determining various chronological questions. Thus there is a difficulty, of which more presently, about the closing year of the third Ptolemy, which is perhaps caused by this practice.

Ptolemy Philadelphus succeeded to a prosperous empire, a full treasury, an efficient army. The great troubles caused by the invasion of the Galatæ (278 B.C.) into Macedonia, Greece, and Asia Minor soon passed away. He had indeed pretended, through the mouth of his court poets, to have been one of the liberators of Hellenism from the Galatian fury, but his part in the transaction seems to have been no more glorious than to hire 2000 of the barbarians as mercenaries, and then, when they grew turbulent and dangerous, to have them massacred on an island of the Nile. Throughout his long reign he was never engaged in any great war, all his policy being one of diplomacy, of aiding the arms of allies by subsidies, of creating a balance of power between Macedon and Syria, of commanding with his fleet the coasts of the Ægean, and thus supporting his many Greek allies. Cyprus and Cyrene only caused him passing troubles.

I cannot but feel that his second wife Arsinoë, who attained so exceptional a position as to make a new precedent for all the succeeding Ptolemaic queens, giving them titular equality with their husbands, may

\* *Greek Life and Thought, from the death of Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, chaps. ix. and x.

have owed her importance to her diplomatic talents, and to her development of this peace policy. She founded cities called by her name, as far away as Bœotia,\* and the very district which specially concerns us—the Fayyum—was renamed in her day the *Arsinoitic nome*.† Can we show any reasons why this might seem appropriate? Why should the old Egyptian name be abandoned, and the nome cease to be called after its capital, the city of the Crocodiles? If Arsinoe Philadelphus was indeed the author or promoter of the peace policy of her brother, with its subtle and brilliant diplomacy, she was probably also the cause of the diminution of the enormous standing army which paraded the streets of Alexandria at the coronation of the new king.‡ And this army was not only dismissed with handsome gifts, but its veterans, from what the present papers tell us, were settled as landed proprietors and pensioners in the fertile slopes around the famous Lake Mœris.

We know from the somewhat parallel case of the settlement of Cæsar's veterans in Italy, what such a military colonization meant in ancient times. The Sovran, or the State, being the owner in theory of all or most of the land, of which the occupier was only the tenant, even after centuries of settled life, acknowledged no fixity of tenure, and no compensation for disturbance. We know that the first Ptolemy had wisely changed as little as he could of the internal government of the Pharaohs. So also it is not known to us that he made any new Greek settlement in the country except at Ptolemais, and perhaps Thebes (Diospolis), which had fallen into decay, and found its population too small for its magnificent buildings.

§ 11. **The Military Settlement in Arsinoe.**—But all the acts of Philadelphus show a far greater contempt for the conquered nation, and a more determined policy of Hellenizing the country. Hence he did not scruple to dispossess the native farmers of the Fayyum, and establish in

\* I have elsewhere conjectured that the founding of cities in far away countries was for the purpose of obtaining a legal voice in the deliberations of local Hellenistic Federations, which were thus brought under the influence of Egyptian diplomacy.

† The capital, known to Strabo as Arsinoe, is never so called in the following documents, but always Crocodilopolis.

‡ Cf. my *Greek Life and Thought*, pp. 200–205.



his renamed nome of Arsinoe, as landlords (*κληροῦχοι*), a large body of his veterans, whose regiments are mentioned in their family papers. We may assume this important innovation to have taken place after his second marriage, and therefore not before the 16th or 17th year of his reign,\* for with the renaming came the repopulating of the district. The earliest date I have yet found among these papers seems to be his 16th year (cf. XXIII., and the commentary thereon), and most of the records which refer to quarrels among these landowners date from his 35–37th years. I note that in the following reign the *cleruchs*, who appear as testators or witnesses, are usually described as 70 years old or upwards. If we imagine them disbanded after reasonable service,† but still young enough to be enterprising settlers, we may place the colony about 35 years earlier. This computation, reckoning back from the year 10 of the third Ptolemy (237 B. C.), will bring us to about 270 B. C., which corresponds with the conjecture I have made upon other grounds.

The position I have maintained, that in the *ΚΛΗΡΟΥΧΟΙ* we have the original military settlers, is confirmed by the use of another title in connexion with it. If the witness be not a *cleruch*, he is usually called a member *ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΟΝΗΣ*, of the second generation, or the second enlistment—a term which was already known, and has been much discussed, but without any certain conclusion being attained.‡ The details of the question will be given in the description of the wills below, § 21. I note that the people with this title are a generation younger than the *cleruchs*, and that as the sons of *cleruchs* should have been of this age, there is no impossibility in interpreting the term as merely the second generation. But the many difficulties which stand in the way must not now detain us. The original

\* 268–7 B. C. The date of Philadelphus' second marriage is stated by M. Revillout to have been his 16th year, but I cannot find his authority. The early tragedies of this Arsinoe's life were over in 277 B. C., and she seems then to have gone home to her brother in Egypt. His mother Berenice did not die till the 16th year, and her feelings should no doubt have been opposed to his incestuous marriage. But all this is conjecture.

† The youngest I find mentioned is 30 years old, but also an officer (XI., l. 18).

‡ A. Peyron, *op. cit.* ii. 7, B. Peyron, *op. cit.* pp. 42–45, Boeckh, CIG iii. 287, with many references.

homes of these colonists are generally stated in descriptions of them—*e.g.* Paris, the son of Theophilus, the Arcadian, or the Thracian, or the Libyan, or the Argive.\* I shall give a complete list in its place, and here remark that this society was made up of mercenary soldiers, not only from all parts of the Hellenistic world, but from the outlying countries, whose inhabitants would have been thought essentially inferior, and unfit for a civilized polity, in earlier Greek days. Many are Macedonians, and belong to the cavalry, and even the household cavalry, so that they must have been considered quite aristocratic; they retained their houses in Alexandria, and no doubt their special rights as citizens of that capital. The only noteworthy limitation in the list is the absence (perhaps accidental in these stray remnants) of all Semitic, as well as Egyptian names.†

The veterans were not settled throughout the rich fields and slopes of the Fayyum without many quarrels and controversies. Fragments remain of complaints about illegal occupation, about the taxes to be paid on produce, about the rights of inheritance and the lots of land. One hundred *arouræ*, or Egyptian acres, seem to have been the amount of the largest original grants, and as the fertile oasis about the lake measured about 40 miles by 20, there would be room for a great number of landlords, apart from those who settled about the city of Crocodilopolis, and pursued the various industries for which villages in the suburbs seem to have been set apart by common consent. Strabo, who visited the district at the end of the first century B. C. (two and a-half centuries after the settlement), observes that here only in Egypt wine and (olive) oil‡ were largely produced. It is natural to

\* In many cases they may have merely migrated from other parts of Egypt—*e.g.* Ἐλευσίνιος, Φιλαδελφείος, perhaps Ἀνδρομάχαιος, but this, if really the case, only accounts for very few of the names.

† A Persian seems to occur (XIV. 29), and B. Peyron (*op. cit.* p. 42) quotes from a Leyden Pap. Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγόνης. We know that ἐπίγονοι was the title given by Alexander himself to his Persian levies. A fragment since found (cf. § 21, p. 43) tells us that Jews were settled with the Greeks in one village at least—Psenuris—in the Fayyum.

‡ Castor oil (κικί) is constantly mentioned in private accounts, and was evidently a necessary of life for lamps, though useless for food, as Pliny and Dioscorides (*Mat. Med.* iv. 161) tell us. It is called Ricinum by the former; cf. *Hist. Nat.* xv. 7, where he says: *cibis fœdum, lucernis utile.*



attribute this peculiarity to the great Greek settlement under the second Ptolemy, whose colonists would introduce the favourite growths of Greece and Asia Minor into their new homes. We know indeed from the Rosetta inscription,\* from old Egyptian pictures, and statements of Biblical and classical authors, that wine was used in the country; but the climate does not suit vines very well; the old intoxicating beverage of the Pharaohs—*haq*—was made from grain, and not from grapes. Wine, therefore, probably remained a luxury, except in the Fayyum, where Strabo saw it produced in abundance. We have among our documents many allusions to both olives and vines, and I may refer especially to the letter (XXIX.) on the subject.

The reader should note the peculiar configuration of the district (of which a map is given at the end), which perhaps alone in Egypt affords those irrigated slopes upon which vines are best cultivated. The oasis is a great hollow cup in the desert, so deep below the level of the high Nile, that during every inundation a vast body of water passes down a branch to Hawara, which is 12 feet lower, and then by circular canals round the oasis down to the lake, of which the bottom is 200 feet below the high Nile level, and even 130 below that of the Mediterranean. So vast was the space occupied by this famous lake, Herodotus's Lake Moëris, that the earliest efforts of the Egyptian kings, notably of Amenemha III., in the XIIth dynasty, were directed to limit its size, and reclaim the land which had been enriched by the deposit of so many water-courses descending through the country. A great dyke was built, to limit the lake towards the south; and here the capital of the district—the Greek Crocodilopolis, the present Medinet-el-Fayyûm—still testifies its former importance by the enormous mounds upon the site. Here too, close to Hawara, was the famous Labyrinth, about which so much has been said by classical authors.†

On these slopes then Ptolemy's veterans made the natives cultivate for

\* l. 15 [τὰς ἀπομοίρας] ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμπελίτιδος γῆς, καὶ τῶν παραδείσων.

† I take these details from Mr. Petrie's recent account in his *Hawara, Biahmi, and Arsinoë* (Trübner, 1889), in which he prints a most interesting description by Colonel Ross. There is also a very ample description in Baedeker's *Egypt*, pp. 456 *sqq.*, which, however, differs in several important details from Colonel Ross's account. I have followed the latter.

them oil and wine, in addition to the ordinary products of the country. While the natives still made their contracts in demotic, all the official documents of the colony were in Greek, and though in dating letters and contracts, the Egyptian month was given with the Macedonian, and often indeed by itself, we find the testamentary dates of the third Ptolemy's reign exclusively Macedonian. The language of these documents is fluent, and evidently that of a population which spoke Greek as a mother-tongue; even in the formulæ of the wills we find many small variations, showing that these formulæ were not slavishly used, but understood by the testator. State documents of the period, such as the inscription of Canopus, show that very long periods were written correctly in official circles—at least as correctly as our official classes use English. There are a few new words, not to be found even in the elaborate Lexicon of Gleanings, in which Professor Komanudis has gathered some 6000 words from beyond the pale of *Liddell and Scott*. But as yet there is little trace of that Egyptian influence which in the course of centuries told upon even these higher classes. The names of workmen and of petty overseers are Egyptian; measures and weights at least partially so; the laws are adaptations of the old régime to Macedonian titles and ideas. As has already been observed, the local administration generally remained what it had been under the Pharaohs; so it lasted under the Romans, even down to the Arab conquest.

§ 12. **Ptolemy Euergetes I.** (246–221 B. C.)—We now come to the reign of the third Ptolemy, within which most of our papyri are dated. I do not know whether among the notes and letters which Mr. Sayce is still deciphering, very early years of this king may not be explicitly mentioned. As every king of the series lived a few years, small figures without further specification tell us nothing; whereas such numbers as 35 added to the sign for a *year*, limit the possible application to very few kings indeed; and fortunately we have, in the famous Canopus inscription, an elaborate statement of all the means for fixing a year known in those days. The Egyptian priests then issued a proclamation in which they voted sundry divine honours to the king and queen, and made ordinances that these honours should be kept on days determined according to the



reformed calendar of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, not according to the old Egyptian calendar of 365. Lepsius, in his monograph on the decree above mentioned, has fixed the date of this decree—the ninth year of Ptolemy III. (Euergetes)—as 238 B. C.

I shall here write out the full formula, which bears upon the dating of many of the following documents, premising that the Brother\* Gods ( $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\ \text{A}\Delta\text{E}\Lambda\Phi\omicron\iota$ ) mean the deified Philadelphus and Arsinoe, and the Benefactor Gods ( $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\ \text{E}\Upsilon\text{E}\rho\Gamma\text{E}\tau\alpha\iota$ ) mean the deified reigning king and queen. “In the reign of Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe the brother gods, the 9th year, Apollonides son of Moschion being priest of Alexander [the Great] and of the Gods Brothers and the Gods Benefactors; the Canephorus [priestess] of Arsinoe Philadelphus being Menekrateia, the daughter of Philammon, in the month Tybi, &c. &c.” The dating of the Rosetta inscription is on the same principle, except that the priesthoods created in honour of the intervening kings and queens during the next fifty years have been added, thus making the preamble too tedious for me to quote. So much was this felt even in Egypt that in later documents no care was taken to find out the names of the priests and priestesses officiating in the particular year, but they are spoken of as ‘the existing’ ( $\tau\omega\nu\ \text{O}\text{N}\tau\omega\nu\ \text{K}\alpha\iota\ \text{O}\Upsilon\text{C}\omega\nu$ ). In still more compendious copies of legal instruments we have even the phrase *after the general formulæ* ( $\text{M}\text{E}\tau\alpha\ \tau\alpha\ \text{K}\omicron\iota\text{N}\alpha$ ) into which the preamble is curtailed.†

These details I here give because the reader must be satisfied that I have really determined the early date of the papyri in this Report. If he will turn to the wills of the year 10 of Ptolemy III. (XIV., XV., XVI.), he will find the formula of the Canopus inscription repeated word for word, even to the names of Apollonides and Menekrateia, the *eponymous* priest and priestess of the year, with merely the figure 9 changed to 10, and the note that one or both priesthoods were now being held for their second year—a most exceptional circumstance. For *eponymous* priesthoods would obviously

\* The German *Geschwister* would be a better translation of  $\text{A}\Delta\text{E}\Lambda\Phi\omicron\iota$ , which here means brother and sister.

† Cf. examples of both these compendious expressions in Leemans' *Leiden Papyri*, N. and O., which date from the seventh or a later Ptolemy.

be useless if the same names were frequently repeated. The Canopic decree of the priests in the year 9 mentions two circumstances which may have caused a reappointment of the eponymous officers for the next year. Firstly, new honours and dignities were heaped on the king and queen, and perhaps the priest and priestess may have claimed the first performance of the accompanying ceremonies. Secondly, there were special changes made in the estimating of the year—which in the case of the new honours was henceforth to be the solar, not the Egyptian year—and this may possibly have caused the prolongation, or apparent prolongation of offices shortened or altered in their tenure by these changes. These, however, are only suggestions which may help to explain an undoubted fact. In another document (XXVIII. (2)) we have **ΛΙΑ ΩC ΔΕ . . . οΔοι ΛΙΒ**, viz. year 11, but, according to . . . *περίοδοι*? year 12, which seems to me to allude to the new uncertainty introduced by the decree of the year 9.

The habit of dating, not only by the year of the king and the day of the month, but also by the names of eponymous priesthoods, was common to the old Greek and Asiatic worlds. We can see specimens of it in Thucydides and elsewhere, and when there was no recognized epoch, the coincidence of several priests and priestesses who were appointed in various months might limit the time very closely. Thus, if the priesthood of Alexander and the Canephoria of Arsinoe were independent creations in relation to independent feasts, the coincidence of the Priest A with the Canephorus B might only extend over a few months, and so define the date more precisely. For example, in the document just cited, which hesitates between the year 11 and 12, Seleucus is the priest, while we know that in the year 12 Eukles was priest and Stratonice Canephorus; unfortunately the name of the Canephorus coincident with Seleucus is lost. Similarly, in the wills of the year 10, the Canephorus is sometimes in her second year, while the priest is not; if this were not due to an oversight, it establishes my conjecture. I have already mentioned how the multiplication of these priest-hoods for the successive kings, while useless in further determining a date perfectly settled by the year and day of the king, became so cumbrous as to be curtailed, and even omitted. I will only add that the earliest Canephorus as yet ascertained is, according to M. Revillout, in the 19th



year of Ptolemy Philadelphus,\* therefore but a few years after the promotion of the second Arsinoë to be his queen. We may suppose that she was deified and honoured in this way upon her marriage.

One other chronological question must be raised before we return to the events of Ptolemy Euergetes' life.† The chronologers agree in allotting 25 years to his reign, but if we are to believe the transcription, by the monk Cosmas, of the inscription he saw at Adule,‡ it was dated in his 27th year. There seems to be some inaccuracy here; but if we allow 25 years, it is not at all impossible that he may have reached the early days of his 26th year, seeing that the remainder would (according to the received precedent) count a full first year with the new king. What, then, are we to think of documents produced below (XI.), dated, simply, *year 26*? are they of this king's reign, or 38 years earlier, and to be referred to the second Ptolemy? On this point I feel much hesitation, and have not assigned the earlier date to any document which does not bear some additional internal evidence to support me.

§ 13. **Character of his Reign.**—The reign which has now supplied us with so many dated documents commenced in stormy excitement. Not only did the young and vigorous man succeed to one worn out with long dissipation, ill-health, and the fatigues of government, but the new king was hurried off at the very commencement of his reign into an Asiatic campaign, which turned out only inferior in brilliancy and success to those of Alexander—if we believe the Adule inscription and the priests—and from which he came back loaded with spoil, and covered with glory, restoring to the Egyptians the gods and sacred treasures carried away long since by the victorious Persians. But from this time onward we

\* The document (XXIII.) which I date in the 16th year of this king has accordingly no Canephorus, but apparently it has a priest of Alexander and the Brother Gods, which would disprove M. Revillout's theory that this latter office was probably created in the 20th year of Philadelphus: cf. *Revue égyptol.*, vol. i., pp. 12 *sqq.*

† As we have here nothing to say to Euergetes II., I need not repeat that our king was the first who bore the title.

‡ Cf. the text quoted in Clinton's *Fasti*, III. 382, note.

hear of no great wars, and though strong and respected, the king of Egypt becomes pacific, political, perhaps even lethargic, up to his death.

What became of the great victorious army he brought home from Asia? Many of them must have been disbanded with honours and rewards. Are these, then, the men called **ΤΗC ΕΠΙΓΟΝΗΣ**, and was this the time and the motive of a fresh settlement of veterans in the Fayyum? I confess I am considerably tempted to adopt this explanation.\* If so a new burden must have been put on the necks of the Egyptian peasants, and whatever remained to them of land in the Fayyum must have been saddled with a race of upstart landlords, for whom the previous owner or tiller under the crown now worked as a labourer. Such contempt of the rights of the natives had been the declared policy of the previous king: he had done all in his power to Hellenize the country out and out. But the reaction was coming; the passive persistence of the Egyptian Fellah was insuperable, and there are symptoms all through Euergetes' later days of a tendency to conciliate national feelings by erecting temples, and honouring native cults. If he did make these concessions, we can well explain the results which followed. No sooner did the government allow that the natives had rights which had long been disregarded, than the discontent at the violence long tolerated would assume a voice, and would be strengthened by the voice of the priests reminding the people of their violated rights. According as the king grew old, and his government careless, these doctrines would be preached without repression, and gather force in the native mind. With the death of the king, and the advent to power of a profligate weakling, Ptolemy Philopator, the agitation of the natives would increase, and all but burst

\* If so, any undated will, in which we find this description of a testator or witness, should necessarily be of the third Ptolemy's time. Unfortunately not a single such fragment, however it may have features of greater antiquity, actually bears a date of the second Ptolemy, except it be that headed *year 26* (XI.), and here there is a lacuna after a witness's name in which *ἐπιγόνης* would fit very naturally (line 12). But in this will the witnessing *cleruchs* are all so exceptionally young, that it *must* date from the second Ptolemy.

I think I can read, in an unsatisfactory fragment (XIII. 2, l. 8) the words *τῶν ἐπηγγυ[ε]νῶν* in the description of a witness. This new title again occurs in a list of witnesses (marked as O, 4, iv., among the Petrie papyri) now in my possession. I refer the reader to my Commentary on XIII. for further details.



into a rebellion. But when a threat of invasion from Syria set the young king's advisers to the task of reconstructing, quickly, an army which had been allowed to fall into idleness and decay—Polybius distinctly implies that the standing army was quite unfit to take the field—they were obliged to call out the veterans settled in the country,\* and, what was far more dangerous, arm the discontented natives, and train them to fight in phalanx. No sooner had these latter finished their victorious campaign at Raphia, than the insurrection seems to have broken out. We have no details of what happened, save that the revolt was long and obstinate, overcome with difficulty, and renewed again upon the accession of the next king. And from this time onward Hellenism began to wane among the Egyptians, and the reconquest of the land by the old race set in.

Even if we count the few documents dated *year* 26 as belonging to the third Ptolemy, the Petrie papyri from Gurob, so far as Mr. Sayce and I have examined them, show a sudden termination before or at the end of this reign. There are numerous documents dating from his later years. We have not a single date of the fourth Ptolemy.† It seems very difficult, if not impossible, to attribute this sudden limitation to mere chance. We can infer from the renaming of the *nome* that the settlement was not founded till after Ptolemy II. married his second wife, (the second) Arsinoe. The dates begin, therefore, as we should expect, about the 20th year of his reign. They extend through its later years to the close of the next reign (about 269–225 B. C.). There they seem suddenly to stop. Shall we say that the disturbances which supervened in Egypt began with the outlying Fayyum, that in any case when the knights were called out by the new king, they returned to find themselves dispossessed, and unable to reconquer their lands in the general confusion of the national insurrection? I

\* Esp. *ἱππέας τῶν κατοίκων* (Polybius). These *κάτοικοι* are either never alluded to in the present documents, or they are identical with the *cleruchs* we have before us. To this point I shall return.

† I have since found, in a mummy-case sent to me by Mr. Petrie, the year *ιη* (18) of Ptolemy, *son of the Gods Philopatores* mentioned. This title means Epiphanes, the fifth Ptolemy, who is the king of the Rosetta stone, and the date 186 B.C. But Mr. Petrie informs me that this case came from the Hawara Necropolis. Mr. Sayce has found one text in which *φιλομητορου* (*sic*) occurs, but the context is lost, and we cannot use the single word as an argument of any weight.

think this a reasonable solution of the facts before us, but we cannot lay it down as history till the whole matter has been sifted by further inquiry. Documents found at Hawara, of which a few are in my possession, show at first sight by their handwriting that here a Greek society lived at a later date, but rather Roman and Christian, than late Ptolemaic. In any case Hawara was close to the Nile, whereas Gurob was remote, and therefore more difficult to protect from the native insurgents.

#### THE TEXTS.

§ 14. **The Antiope of Euripides.** —The readers of Euripides' fragments have long recognized the *Antiope* as one of his most celebrated plays. It is quoted by Plato (*Gorgias*, pp. 485 *sqq.*), as containing, in the dialogues between Amphion and Zethus, the heroine's exposed and long-lost children, the speculations of the poet on the superiority of *music* to field sports or athletics. Amphion, who had received his lyre as a gift from Hermes, and was devoted to music, is reproved and ridiculed by the ruder and more energetic Zethus for his idle dalliance,\* and it is not till the end of the play, which we have now recovered, that we find the decision of the gods in favour of Amphion, who builds the walls of Thebes with his lyre, and becomes king of the country. But in addition to this philosophical episode in the tragedy, there was the exciting passage of the appearance of the captive Antiope, who had fled from her oppressors, and who claimed protection from the young men whom she claimed as her children. It appears that the ruder Zethus rejected her prayers, and that she was about to be tied (by Dirce's orders) to the horns of a wild bull, when Amphion's gentleness and consequent hesitation gave time for the old peasant who had brought them up as his own in the mountain (Cithæron) to disclose his secret, and so turned the punishment designed for Antiope upon her persecutor, Dirce. The moment when the latter was tied to the bull is perpetuated in the famous marble group at Naples, the work of Apollonius and

\* Cf. the quotations in Nauck's *Fragg. Trag. Græc.*, pp. 414 *sqq.* (2nd Ed.).



Tauriscus, the sculptors of Tralles.\* Her hideous death was then narrated by an eye-witness, from whose speech Longinus has quoted a sentence as an example of majestic conciseness.†

All these events in the play had passed before we come to the last act, in which the young men entice Lycus, the husband of Dirce, and king of the land, into the mountain, where they lay an ambush for him, seize him, and are on the point of putting him to death, when the god Hermes appears (*ex machina*), arrests the action of the young men, and orders Lycus to bury the remains of his wife in the fountain thence called Dirce, and to resign his kingdom to Amphion, whose building of Thebes and marriage to Niobe, the daughter of Tantalus, are also prophesied. With the acquiescence of Lycus, the action of the play seems to have concluded.

It is from this last act that portions of three pages have turned up among accounts and registers dating from the years 3 and 11 of Ptolemy III., roughly speaking, 245–35 B.C. They had all been used indiscriminately to make up the carton-casing which enclosed a mummy. Fragment A (I.) is a dialogue between the agitated Antiope and one of her sons, in which the latter endeavours to allay her fears, shows that the murder of Dirce has made all reconciliation impossible, and that they must either overcome the tyrant or die. At the effaced close of this fragment Lycus himself is announced, and evidently makes a speech explaining the cause of his unexpected appearance. The next thing was to entice him away from his friends, and bring him into some rustic shed, where the young men could seize and bind him. This appears to be the subject of Fragment B (I.), which is unfortunately so broken that we can only guess at the sense. Either the old peasant or one of the young men known as his sons is urging Lycus to come away with him, and hide in the hut, which is really to be the scene of his capture. The alleged object was to capture Antiope, who had escaped from his control. A chorus of Bœotian peasants was the spectator of these events, and the largest Fragment C (II.)

\* Cf. my *Greek Life and Thought*, pp. 337 *sqq.*

†  
 εἰ δέ που  
 τύχοι, πέριξ ἐλίξας εἰλχ' ὁμοῦ λαβών  
 γυναῖκα, πέτραν, δρῦν, μεταλλάσσων ἀεί.

opens with the close of their excited choral song, in which they anticipate the tyrant's fall. From this chorus we have a quotation in Stobæus, which differs considerably from the reading of our text. Then follows the dialogue on the reappearance of Lycus in bonds, and then the speech of the god, followed by the submission of Lycus. A few lines from the chorus may (as is usual with Euripides) have concluded the tragedy.

§ 15. **The Fragments Described.**—Such is the import of the fragments reproduced on Autotypes I. and II. They are, without doubt, far the oldest specimens of any classical text the modern world has yet seen. I have printed in the following Plates the other scraps from classical poets which I have found in the collection. The reader will at once see that while these latter are in the ordinary Ptolemaic hand—I mean ordinary in the third century B.C.—the *Antiope* has quite a different appearance. The hand is very neat and small, as was suitable for bringing the text of a whole play within moderate compass. Had the present fragments been written as large as the extracts on the following Autotypes, we should have found very little indeed upon the amount of papyrus we have recovered, whereas the double columns of 36 lines are almost as compressed as modern print. There is a broad margin, and hardly a sign of succeeding parallel columns, which are visible in all the other papyri. The Plato fragments, for example, were not only written in a long series of parallel columns, but were plainly rolled up in the ordinary way, as may be seen from the direction of the fractures in the papyrus. The pages of the *Antiope* might almost seem to have been like modern pages, forming a little quarto volume, with only one side of the papyrus employed. But this last fact, as Weil has observed, makes the roll form much more likely. Tablets of wax, on which ancient authors composed, must have been of the book shape; that they were imitated in papyrus is cited by H. Diels, in reviewing my first publication of the fragments in *Hermathena*, as a proof that a book was written by a private hand, and not for sale. But he had not before him the actual handwriting.\*

\* There is possibly one letter of an adjoining column to the right of lines A 19 and of C 15. But I cannot assert this positively.



On the whole, the hand reminds one strongly of a lapidary hand transferred to slighter material. Here is the form of the writer's alphabet, and under it that of the *Phædo* papyrus, which the reader may verify on the fac-similes. I have omitted in the second series letters which agree perfectly with those of the first, but I will add that the Π often has a short right leg, and that the Ν occurs with the middle bar almost horizontal, and the right bar elevated above the line :—

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω  
Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ε Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω

It will at once be observed, that these two alphabets hardly differ, the Α Δ Λ Χ of the *Antiope* being a little more obtuse (divaricated) in the vertical angle, while the Ε of the *Phædo* often preserves the old lapidary square shape. The *Phædo* is merely more carefully written, with the characters more even, more upright, and more separated. No material difference of age can be inferred between them, but, as compared with the mass of the other handwritings here reproduced, any palæographer would pronounce them to be much older. My recent labours among these mummy-cases have, however, disclosed some fragments sufficiently near in character to those of the *Phædo* to make this inference doubtful.\* We may, moreover, be misled by the greater care with which classical books were written at Alexandria by skilled and trained scribes. For I have since found a few scraps (cf. IV. 2), in every case from some classical author, which show that literary works were copied by professional writers with such elegance, that they differed from everyday writing as much as our printing does. In fact, after some experience, it is easy to tell at a glance whether fragments of this age are private letters, legal documents, or literary works.

As regards the competence and carefulness of the scribe of the *Antiope*, we may say that on the whole his copy is good, nor can we with certainty

\* Such a fragment is given on the extreme right of the little group of unrecognized scraps at the top of VII. The rest of this group probably belong to the *Phædo*. But this is on paler papyrus, and in slightly larger and slightly different writing.

set down, in the legible portions of the text, any blunders save the following\*:—He writes ΤΑΝΤΑΛΛΟΥ, violating the metre, ΨΕΙΔΕΙC for ΨΕΥΔΕΙC, ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ for ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ, if we have read him correctly; he elides, and does not elide, indiscriminately, as if it were to him of no consequence at all.† In some of the places where traces of letters still remain, and we have yet been unable to divine the word, it may possibly be owing to some freak in the writer. But I have so often found myself wrong in adopting this hypothesis, that I believe all the difficulties arise from the erasure of the ink, and from my own want of insight in not restoring it by conjecture. And here conjectures are indeed invaluable, seeing that we have considerable means left for verifying them, by fitting them to the size of the lacuna, or to the remaining traces of letters which are unintelligible till they are expounded by the true assumption.

The present edition of this important text differs in some respects from my former edition (in *Hermathena*, xvii.). There I merely tried to reproduce, as well as might be, the original, and added no suggestions which would alter that text. I supplied, indeed, from the conjectures of my colleagues and from my own, such words or letters as might fill gaps, but did not trouble the reader with a number of obvious emendations, which had already occurred to most of us here, but which demanded serious alterations in the text of the papyrus. Now, on the contrary, that the greatest scholars in Europe have proffered their advice, I give in critical notes what they and we have since made out, all the while adhering to the very letters of the original in my transcription.

M. H. Weil's views, in addition to the few things which he had already sent me, are published in the *Revue des Études grecques* for March, 1891; the rest I have received privately and independently from the scholars to whom I here return my sincere thanks. In the *Classical Review* for March, 1891,

\* *εμειχθη*, like *τεισεται*, is the older, and, perhaps, more correct form used in lapidary Greek for *εμιχθη*, *τισεται*. The exclamation *ωι* (for *ω*) has also old authority in inscriptions. *αστεως* was misprinted in my earlier publication.

† I will only suggest that when the habit was universal of writing all the words continuously without any break, elision may have been neglected in order to facilitate the reader's apprehension of the separate words. Thus *ταδειναιαμα* is less ambiguous than *ταδιναιαμα*.



both Mr. W. G. Rutherford and Professor Campbell have printed restorations of the text. A few more words, especially in the left column of C, have also been deciphered in the meanwhile by further study, and some mistakes corrected.

§ 16. I have placed next (III.) a few short pieces of poetry, which I gather from the actual statement on the first, and from the size of the handwriting in this and the rest, to have been no complete poems, but rather elegant extracts, for the use of educators, or of their pupils.

Under these there are fragments of the *Iliad* which I failed to identify, because there are several terminations and beginnings of lines not to be found in any known MS. of Homer. But Mr. Bury has established that in the longer passage we have *Iliad* Δ, 503–37. The important variations in the text (which, unfortunately, is so mutilated that we can only establish this fact), show that we have here the edition neither of Zenodotus nor of Aristarchus. That it could not be the latter we must infer from the date of the accompanying papers, which are all nearly a century earlier than Aristarchus' time (160–30 B.C.). There is, therefore, no accident more deplorable than that which has robbed us of the rest of this fragment. Its handwriting (like that of IX.) differs considerably in character from the accompanying documents, and would never have been suspected of such great antiquity but for the surroundings in which it was found. The accompanying scrap in Epic style appears, according to Mr. Bury's acute and learned conjecture, to be from the *Ἡοῖαι*, and not from Homer.

The next Autotype (IV.) gives a passage in 'comic iambs.' I have added, from the scraps recently examined by myself, a fragment of a tragedy defaced beyond recognition, on account of the remarkable handwriting—perhaps the clearest of the whole collection. The occurrence of the word **CHMANTOPEC**, which does not appear\* in our extant plays, makes it certain that it is from a lost play.

The Gurob papyri have indeed shown one indisputable fact to the palæographer. There was such an apparent variety of writing in use, even in documents dated the same year, that all inferences from types of writing must be based on a minute study of individual letters.

\* Δ v. l. in *Œd. Res.* 957, *σημάντωρ γενοῦ*.

§ 17. The Platonic fragments, which occupy the four following Plates (V.–VIII.), are the remains of a very carefully and beautifully written roll, containing the *Phædo*. Among all the classical MSS. found in Egypt, and dating long before the mediæval parchments on which our printed texts have been based, these fragments will now occupy the first place. So antique is their appearance, that Mr. Sayce and I were at one time inclined to attribute them to an Attic scribe, whose volume was imported into the Fayyum by some old soldier of literary tastes, who came from Hellas. The occurrence of the forms **ΟΥΘΕΝ** and of **ΑΙΔΕC** will make some critics attribute the copy to early Alexandrian days; but the evidence of dated inscriptions shows that such forms were really classical. The differences between the readings of this MS. and those of our best mediæval texts, though they do not affect the argument, are such in regard to style, that they clearly indicate a tradition distinct from that afterwards current. It has been of late years suspected\* by scholars that the Alexandrian critics edited the older texts from a rhetorical standpoint, and introduced refinements which they considered indispensable to good prose. Among these one of the most important was that law forbidding the hiatus between the final and initial vowels of two succeeding words, concerning which Benseler's tract has been too often quoted as conclusive.† The fragments before us show in several places a complete disregard for this law, where our mediæval texts avoid its violation by a mere variation in the order of the words. As a change from the observance to the non-observance of such a law cannot be rationally explained, while the reverse proceeding is exactly what we have reason to expect, it follows that the MS. before us represents the pre-Alexandrine tradition, or, at least, the condition of Plato's text before it had been "improved" by the early grammarians to an extent unsuspected by most modern scholars. Mr. Gunion Rutherford stands alone in England in having suspected and asserted such things about the text of Thucydides; his theory, which was received with much alarm by our schoolmasters, derives a *general* corroboration from the

\* *e. g.* by Gomperz in his remarkable article on a possible tract of Protagoras lying unobserved among the Hippocratic writings, *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, vol. cxx. (1890).

† *De hiatu in Oratoribus Atticis et historicis Græcis* (1841).



phenomena disclosed in the present fragments. These have been critically annotated by my colleague, Mr. W. J. M. Starkie, and I must refer to the commentary we have added for the details which support what I have now stated. How such a precious\* MS. should have been degraded to the condition of waste paper can only be explained either by its having gone to pieces from long use, and so become despised, or from some such catastrophe as that which I have suggested in my remarks on the opening of the fourth Ptolemy's reign.

§ 18. **The Wills.**—I know not that any part of this Report will excite more interest among antiquarians than the discovery of the sheets of a Probate Court at Arsinoë—for so I may entitle the series of testaments, drawn up in parallel columns, with the end of one and the beginning of another often found on the same column. These cannot be the original autographs, but must be legal duplicates, kept in a public office for the purpose of verification, perhaps, also, of taxation. The fact, that in many of them the reigning king and queen, and their descendants, are appointed executors, would, in itself, make it necessary to have an official copy in the public archives. These papyri had been, I think, deliberately pulled in pieces, when they were condemned to be waste paper; for though the recurrence of fixed formulæ makes it easy to fit together separated fragments, yet some twenty pieces, making three or four groups, identical in the quality of the papyrus, the handwriting and the date, are each and all isolated texts, thus showing how numerous were the wills in the series. I have succeeded beyond my expectation in XIX., where seven or eight pieces have been united, so as to give the conclusion of one will, and the whole of the next, all but complete. We can here trace a variation in the handwriting, even on the same page, and, we may presume, in the same writer. The second document is in a much larger and finer hand than the first. But by comparing other wills, dated the same year, we find far greater differences, and an extraordinary variety in handwriting. Thus, from a palæographical point of view, these dated documents are of

\* In spite of the careful writing there are patent blunders in this text also, perhaps as many as in the *Antiope*.

capital importance. It is, moreover, inconceivable that such official copies, by various hands, should ever have been recorded except at the very time when the testament was drawn up and witnessed. From the headings here and there to be seen, the records seem to have been monthly. I have only been able to reproduce a portion of these documents, but have chosen from them the most complete and the most contrasted. A number of lesser fragments in my hands give corroboration to my readings, and sometimes supply words wanting in the more complete copies. Only three of all the mummy-cases we examined produced these documents, and produced them in groups close together, so that a lucky accident has here saved for us a distinct class of texts nowhere else represented.

§ 19. **Their Formulæ.**—The first and most elaborate of the formulæ with which these wills open is—

(1) The date; and as certainty is here vital to this Memoir, I have explained the system in full detail above (§ 12). Our fragments follow accurately the official wording of the Canopus inscription, and we have certainly wills of the 10th, the 12th, and the 22nd year of the third Ptolemy before us (237, 235, 225 B.C.). There are others mentioning other years, but unfortunately the name of the king is lost, so that we cannot tell whether they date from the second or the third Ptolemy. But in no case do the formulæ of the fourth (Philopator) or fifth (Epiphanes) or any later sovran appear. The dating of the Rosetta stone, as well as of many of the later papyri preserved at Turin, Leyden, &c., show us that the titles of each new king and queen were added to the list of deities whose worship was conducted by the “priest of Alexander.” Moreover, an *Athlophorus* of Berenice was created beside the *Canephorus* of Arsinoe, and presently other dignitaries of the same rank and privileges. The dates before us, in which none of these names appear, are therefore unmistakable, and in no case have we even the compendious forms which came into use when the list of priests and the gods they represented became cumbrous.

After the date which gives (*a*) the year of the reigning king, (*b*) the names of the priests of Alexander, &c., and of the *Canephorus* of Arsinoe Philadelphus, (*c*) the day of the month, (*d*) the locality, there follows—



(2) The preamble and description of the testator, in this form: "Being of sound mind and good understanding, A, son of B, made the following bequest," and then he is described as so many years old, from such a country, either tall, short, fat, or lean, with straight or curly hair, with his moles and his scars, the latter being a prominent feature among the Greek settlers of the Fayyum. For these veterans also name their old regiment, mentioning (I suppose with special pride) the guards or the cavalry.

(3) The opening words of the actual will are also a formula, though admitting of some variations, which show that no mere office clerk drew them up. "May it be my lot to keep in health and manage my own affairs, but if I should suffer anything human, I bequeath . . .".

(4) The details of the bequest. In the cases where these are lengthy, they are all so torn and mutilated as to be only partly intelligible; but where a single heir inherits everything—a not uncommon case—it is the wife, the son, the daughter; in one instance a Thracian young woman not more closely described. Nor is the bequest to the wife or daughter coupled (so far as our fragments disclose) with the name of any trustee or *κύριος*. In the wills made under the third Ptolemy, there usually follows—

(5) The appointment of the king and queen, and their descendants, as executors, which, I suppose, means no more than that the State administered the testator's dispositions. There is no instance of the appointment of the second Ptolemy; whether because none of the wills date from his day, or because the practice arose from some new legislation under his son, I cannot tell.

The documents conclude with—

(6) The enumeration of the witnesses, each described as to age, prominence, military rank, and personal appearance. A comparison of many such lists led me to conclude that six was the normal number: though this, too, seems to have been variable;\* and I since found in Leemans' papyri that

\* The document on XIX. exhibits only four, but was doubtless continued on the next column. This scribe, as appears from other fragments, was most particular in having a broad margin, and continues his text on the ensuing column without any break or paragraph. One other fragment has seven.

a contract of six witnesses (*συγγραφὴ ἑξ μαρτύρων*) was a technical term to distinguish certain deeds from those of sale, which required sixteen.

There is no concluding formula whatever.

Such is the description of a will among the Greek mercenaries of the Fayyum; and, as they came from all parts of the Hellenic world, we may fairly suppose that it represents what was in use elsewhere at an earlier period.

§ 20. On this point we had hitherto but scanty information. Let the reader refer to the new edition of Smith's *Antiquities*, or even to the far more complete new edition of C. F. Hermann's *Alterthümer*, and he will see how vague and slight are the statements, how few the references, on this important subject.

I shall here record what they say, but add new matter derived from a special search for evidence. The usual formula they quote for the opening words of a will is that found in Diogenes Laertius, when giving the testaments of various philosophers: *e. g.* that of Aristotle (v. § 11), *ἔσται μὲν εἶ, ἐὰν δέ τι συμβαίῃ*, which is far less explicit than the preambles of the papyri. That the formulæ of these latter, however, were known appears both from an expression in the will of Epicurus, given by the same collector (x. § 21): *ἐὰν δέ τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων περὶ Ἑρμαχὸν γινῆται*, &c., and from the words of the orator Isæus (*de Ap. Hered.* § 1), *διέθετο, εἴ τι πάθοι*. We can also infer from Isæus that, in official copies, the preliminary formula found its place. He argues (*de Philoct. Hered.* § 9) that as the law requires the testator not to be *παρανοῶν*, the acts of Philoctemon amply show that he was *εἰ φρονῶν*, thus implying the very words of our formula—*νοῶν καὶ φρονῶν*.<sup>\*</sup> He shows furthermore (*de Cleon. Hered.* § 14), in the case of a testator revoking a will, that it had not been deposited with a friend or relation, but in the archives of a court, from which the magistrate must bring it. This is precisely what we might infer from the wills now before us. And as regards the number of the witnesses, who might or might not know the contents of the will, he says that it is usual to have as many as possible, showing that the number was not fixed

\* *ζῶν καὶ φρονῶν* frequently occurs in dedications of memorials, *e. g.* Bœckh, CIG, Index, *sub. oc.*



(*de Astyph. Hered.* § 13). Lastly, we hear from him that there were solemn imprecations (*ἀπαί*) at the close; these are foreign to the veterans of the Fayyum.

All these passages afford a general corroboration that we have, in the Fayyum papyri, an old and general type of Greek testament. Isæus adds that no one bequeaths to his sons, who are the heirs by law of his property; and possibly this may be the case as regards the real property of the Egyptian Greeks; for I only find the land, the *κληρος*, mentioned in one fragment, unfortunately with the context so mutilated that we cannot tell more about it. But the Greek practice did not prevail generally in the Fayyum, for we have frequent bequests of personal property, at all events, to a son mentioned as sole heir.

Fortunately, however, there is one instance long extant which gives us the whole formula of the Egyptian wills explicitly. An inscription which has been known ever since 1750, when it was published in the *Museo* of Maffei, and which now figures as No. 2448 in Boeckh's *Corpus*, is not quoted in the handbooks, though it is the capital document on the subject. It is known as the Testament of Epicteta, and is recited in the preamble of a decree based upon it, as her bequests are for the benefit of the public (probably) of Thera. The date is about the third century B.C., that is to say, about the age of our papyri. Its formulæ are strictly upon the same pattern.

*Date.*—ΕΠΙ ΕΦΟΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝ ΦΟΙΒΟΤΕΛΕΙ

*Prelim. Formula and Name.*—ΤΑΔΕ ΔΙΕΘΕΤΟ ΝΟΟΥΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΦΡΟΝΟΥΣΑ ΕΠΙΚΤΑΤΑ ΓΡΙΝΝΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΠΕΙΔΙΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΡΑΚΥΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ, ΣΥΝΕΥΑΡΕΣΤΟΥΣΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΟΣ.

*Opening Formula.*—ΕΙΗ ΜΕΝ ΜΟΙ ΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΥΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΩΪΟΜΕΝΑΙ ΤΑ ΙΔΙΑ ΔΙΟΙΚΕΝ, ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΙ ΚΑ ΓΕΝΗΤΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΜΕ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΩΝ, ΑΠΟΛΕΙΠΩ, &c.

Here, then, is the very same type in the island of Thera, and we may infer from the evidence I have collected that it was general throughout the Greek world since the fourth century B.C.

These materials will lead the jurists to reconsider the position they have maintained, that the full and free right of bequeathing was not admitted or practised till its development by Roman lawyers and in Roman society.

Maine, for example,\* while acknowledging that the Athenian will, as implied in the legal cases of Isæus, is of indigenous growth, calls it only an *inchoate testament* on account of the restrictions it implied. No Athenian was allowed to disinherit his son, who succeeded by law in spite of any adverse testament. Hence it was not the practice at Athens to make mention of such necessary heirs in any testament. Some such limitation seems also implied in the document above quoted—the will of Epicteta—from the island of Thera, for she bequeaths property to public uses, *with the consent of her natural heirs*. Professor Graham has pointed out to me that the two features to be noted in a perfectly developed system of free testation are—(1) the absence of any limitations by the clan or by the State, and (2) the absence of elaborate forms and ceremonies accompanying the act. In fact the nearer the document approaches to an ordinary legal contract the more developed we must regard it.

From both these points of view the wills now produced, fragmentary as they are, point to a development as complete as that of the Roman will. It is true, as Professor Graham has also pointed out to me, that soldiers are likely to have had special privileges, and that therefore we must not infer with certainty from this class the general condition of the society around them. But although the society of the Arsinoite nome was a settlement of soldiers, this settlement turned them into *bonâ fide* citizens; nor does it appear that all the members of it, nay, even of those whose wills we have recovered, were non-civilians. Thus the very complete will of Aphrodisias (XIX.) merely describes him as a *sojourner*, without giving any military rank or description, nor can his scars be regarded as evidence by themselves. The appointment of the Crown as executor does not seem to have been compulsory, even with soldiers; and upon the most careful review of the documents, I cannot find any traces of special privileges for this special class, as we know there existed in the case of Roman soldiers' wills.

If we turn back to the first point above stated, the existence of State limitations upon private rights of bequeathing, these Arsinoite wills seem to imply none whatever. We can, indeed, only use the argument from silence

\* *Ancient Law*, pp. 194–196.



concerning some of these possible limitations; but the fact that we have cases of men leaving all they possess to a son, to a daughter, to a wife, to a woman not a relation, implies that the Athenian restriction was not in force, and that no other restriction was exercised by the State. The entry of these private documents on the records of some public office is not accompanied by any supervision, any official countersigning of each as inspected and approved by the State. The number of witnesses is that required for an ordinary contract, and there seems no doubt whatever in the mind of the testator that he can leave his property as he chooses.

Regarding the second point, the formalities or solemnities guarding the execution of such a document, our evidence points to a perfectly free and secular treatment of the matter. We know that at the close of Attic wills there were solemn imprecations, of which there is here no trace. No mention of religion occurs in any one of them, unless it be the bequest of property for the purpose of supporting a shrine and worship of the deified queens of the land. All this is precisely what we should expect from a settlement of mercenaries and adventurers, with no home traditions, no ancestral obligations, no religious history to maintain, in contrast to what was universally the case in the old Hellenic societies. And thus it may be—in the transformation of the Macedonian armies of the East into citizens of new Hellenistic polities—that here, and not at Rome, the important step was taken which emancipates the individual from the control of the State or clan in the disposition of his property. The old ties of tribe, of ancestry with its accompanying worships, of tradition, were gone. New men created new societies, in which the practical side of their former life was retained, while the sentimental side passed into oblivion.

Professor Graham has further suggested to me to look for the conditions of tenure under which these veterans held their lands. Did they, he asks, obtain perpetual tenure subject only to military duties, such as that much later system of Feudal landholding, of which Maine\* finds the earliest model in the veterans of the Roman army who defended the frontiers of the Empire, though he concedes† that it was likely to spring up wherever social and military exigencies might require it? I think the present must

\* *Ancient Law*, pp. 302, *sqq.*

† *Early Hist. of Institutions*, p. 166.

have been some such system; for we know from Polybius that these knights were called out to serve in the succeeding generation; and though they bequeath their horses as private property, the existence of ἵπποσκόποι, mentioned below, shows that they were under obligations to be efficient when required.

I am very far from asserting that these novel and somewhat startling conclusions are as yet definitely established; a closer examination of the evidence by specialists in ancient jurisprudence may find what has escaped me, or modify what I have read; in any case it is well to have the facts brought under a definite hypothesis, so that future inquirers may have before them either the proving or the disproving of an important social problem. With a clear object of this kind in view, many a student will find indications of interest in apparent trifles, which he would otherwise have passed over as of no moment whatever.

§ 21. **Greek Society in the Arsinoite Nome.**—Such being the form and import of these documents, I shall recapitulate what we have learned of the society which they imply. The original settlement was plainly one of veterans; not only do many of them mention their regiment and their commander, but in the personal descriptions scars are a prominent feature; there is hardly a testator or witness named who does not possess them, and they are all about the head. There are soldiers too of high rank, captains of 1000 and of 500.

(1) Many of them were Macedonians belonging to the ΑΓΗΜΑ or Household Troops. There are several allusions to these settlers in Egypt from the king's cavalry in Polybius (v. 65) and elsewhere, but, strange to say, they are never by these authorities called ΚΛΗΡΟΥΧΟΙ, but ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΙ; even in connexion with the men ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΟΝΗΣ. As they are also called ΞΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΙ, the facts now produced indicate that they were equivalent to our ΚΛΗΡΟΥΧΟΙ, and that there were probably other settlements of them in Egypt.\* In one of the wills (XIX. (1) ) both the testator and all

\* Cf. the learned discussion of A. Peyron in his *Pap. Mus. Taur.* II., p. 59, who had before him no instance of κληρουχοι. I make, therefore, the following suggestion to account for the difference of title. The first Ptolemy had made settlements of soldiers at Ptolemais, and at



his witnesses seem to be Macedonians. It is remarkable that in many cases military rank is denoted by an ideograph ρΑ (cf. XI. 13, 19, 21, XVI. (2), and elsewhere), which may possibly be 100 + a cavalry helmet, and mean *centurion*, but this is a mere conjecture, as there is no occurrence or explanation of it in the papyri hitherto published, so far as I know.

Here is a table of the other nationalities or departments of the Greek world represented in this society of veterans, either as testators or witnesses:—

(2) *Cities*: Heraclea, Syracuse, Alexandria, Eleusis (probably the Egyptian), Lysimachia, Amphipolis, Philadelphia, Aspendus, Cyrene, Cos, and two more which seem peculiar: one man (XIX.) is called an *Isthmian*, and the other an *Andromachian*. If the Isthmus were that of Corinth, we should expect Corinthian; a town called Andromachia does not appear to be known, nor does it occur in the index to Boeckh's *Corpus*.

(3) *Provinces in Greece*: Arcadia, Achæa, Argolis, Thessaly, Boœtia.

(4) *Surrounding nations*: Libyan, Carian, Thracian, Illyrian, Persian, with even a Campanian.\* This, therefore, was true and completed

Diospolis (Thebes); but so far as the Turin and Leyden papyri indicate, in these cities only, as *townsmen*. These would naturally be called *κάτοικοι*, whereas the *landed* proprietors of the Fayyum would be called *cleruchs*. In other respects, I suppose that their conditions of service and pay, and their rank, may not have differed. The titles *κάτοικοι* and *τῆς ἐπιγόνης* lasted down to the time of the seventh Ptolemy, as we know from the Leyden papyri. Wilcken (*Aktenstücke*, p. 64) quotes from an ostrakon *πεζοὶ καὶ ἰππεῖς ἀρχαῖοι*, an expression which, no doubt, refers to these first settlements under the Ptolemies.

\* In a fragment just recovered (March 9th) from a mummy-case, I find even Jews settled in the village of Psenuris in the Arsinoite nome, viz. :—

Ασκληπιαδ[η]  
 εστι  
 εσμαι παραγραφ  
 ενοικουν εν ψενυρει παντο  
 εις τα αποδοχ(ε)ια της κωμης  
 παρα των Ιουδαιων και των  
 Ελληνων εκαστου σωματος S  
 και τουτο λογεεται δια  
 δι[ ]ιου του επιστατου.

This had been already inferred by Mr. Sayce (in an inquiry presently to be published) from

[6\*]

Hellenism, where not only all manner of Greeks, but even semi-barbarous neighbours were combined with Macedonians into one society under equal laws, using Greek only as their language. One feels disposed to think the *cleruchs* or "hundred acre" men—for I take ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΡΟΥΡΟC, which we here meet for the first time, to mean the largest landholders—were all Macedonians; but this is not borne out by the texts.

We must leave it doubtful whether they bequeathed their landed property, though the words ΤΟΝ ΚΛΗΡΟΝ occur once, ΤΟΝ ΣΤΑΘΜΟΝ (homestead) and ΕΓ ΒΑCΙΑΙΚΟΥ\* several times. We have nowhere sufficient context to tell us what was the condition under which they held the king's bounty. But one bequeaths his horse and armour, another his house in Alexandria, another his property in the potteries near Crocodilopolis, another articles of dress and of furniture. Wives and daughters seem to inherit as often as sons. All feeling of clan rights was of course unknown in this conglomerate of soldiers of fortune. Cavalry men seem to predominate, and this corroborates Polybius' statement, that Ptolemy IV., when raising an army against Antiochus III., got his cavalry from Hellenistic settlers, τῶν κατοίκων ἱππεῶν, as he calls them.

These new occupants were not planted without many troubles and disputes. Of the complaints of the natives we naturally find no trace in the Greek documents; but many of the fragments in Mr. Sayce's hands, of which he has given some specimens in *Hermathena*, xvii., tell us of quarrels among these knights, and the mandates of the king and his agents (ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙCΤΑΙ) in allaying them. On this question we shall doubtless learn much more from Mr. Sayce's further decipherments.

§ 22. The language of these wills is somewhat peculiar as to vocabulary, but contains no words that we should not have expected beforehand. Several only known to us in the LXX., in which we have probably the lan-

the occurrence of *Samaria* among the villages of the Fayyum in various catalogues of taxes in his possession. He cites Josephus x. 8, to the effect that Alexander the Great had settled 7000 Samaritans on waste (?) lands in Upper Egypt.

\* *i. e.* "From the royal bank, or treasury," which transferred sums of money to the paymasters of regiments, as appears from Wilcken's *Aktenstücke* (Berlin Acad. Trans. for 1886, pp. 49 *sqq.*).



guage of this very generation in Egypt, are found here, such as ΠΥΡΡΑΚΗΣ, ΑΝΑΦΑΛΑΝΤΟC; ΗCΥΧΗΙ ΕΝCΙΜΟC, which is in the Hippocratic writings, also appears in descriptions of witnesses deciphered by Leemans, in the Leyden papyri, and ΥΠΟCΚΝΙΠΗΣ, ΥΠΟCΤΡΑΒΑΙΝΙΖΩΝ, are given in their simple forms by Hesychius. Leemans also deciphers ΤΕΤΑΝΟC and ΚΛΑCΤΟC in these descriptions, which he translates *procerus* and *fractus*, as if they referred to stature. This is wrong, for stature is described as ΜΕCΟC, ΕΥΜΕΓΕΘΗΣ, &c.; but the absence of the older words from which the two epithets were abbreviated, left him without the right clue. We have now not only ΤΕΤΑΝΟC, but ΤΕΤΑΝΟΘΡΙΞ (which is Platonic) and ΚΛΑCΤΟΘΡΙΞ, showing that the words meant straight or curly-haired. The fact that negro slaves were common in Egypt probably prevented the better classes from using the old Greek ουλοθριξ for anything but *woolly* hair.

The writing is fairly accurate, though the tendency to make feminine adjectives dative in form, such as ΜΕCΗΙ ΜΕΓΕΘΕΙ, known to us in the Louvre collection and in the Leyden papyri of Leemans, occurs here also (XX., l. 19). The orthography is rather that of the inscriptions than of our Greek MSS., especially in the constant assimilation of the final Ν and Κ—ΕΓ ΚΡΟΚΟΔΙΛΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΙ, ΕΓ ΒΑCΙΛΙΚΟΥ, ΕΙΗ ΜΕΜ ΜΟΙ, ΤΗΓ ΓΑΡ, &c.

Further details will be found in their place. I will only here add that XX. represents a very peculiar case, the bequest of a site for a shrine to worship the reigning queen and her predecessor. The description of the site, by its relation to adjoining buildings, north, south, east, and west, occurs in other papyri, *e. g.* in that of the British Museum, now being published in splendid fac-simile.\* But our document is unfortunately so lacerated as to be nearly unintelligible.

§ 23. The Autotypes which follow are less interesting, but not less important, on account of their early and precise dates. They are mostly

\* Plate L. of the forthcoming collection. I owe my knowledge of this Plate to the kindness of Dr. Maunde Thompson.

legal records of contracts, or of decisions by local judges, of which there were evidently lists preserved in the archives of the court, indicating the case, as we do, not only by the names of plaintiff and defendant, but also by those of the three judges who had decided it. The names of these judges, as well as of the litigants, are all Greek or Macedonian, so that here too we are dealing with the colonists of the Fayyum; the names of Egyptians only occur when we come to labour bills, in which the petty overseers or gangers seem to have been natives. This appears from the very important XXII.(2) and XXIII., which were found in the same case, and are evidently part of the same sheet, and written in the same hand. I have added the transcription of some other fragments belonging to the same document.

The heading, XXII. (2), which had been cut in pieces with a sharp knife, and scattered, I have succeeded in reuniting, and it introduces us to the very opening years of the Arsinoite colony, for it is dated in the reign of Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy Soter, that is to say, Philadelphus; and of the year enough remains to see that it was in the *twenties* of that reign, probably the 28th year (KH). No other reading is possible, except to make it one of the *teens*, or ten years earlier; the upright bar of the K (as I understand it) could possibly be an I. It is the record of work done in measuring or defining farms (KΛHPOC is actually the word which occurs) by making or repairing banks of earth, leading to the king's highway, between them.

But this is not the earliest of the dates. The second fragment on XXIV. gives us the 16th year of a Ptolemy; we can see that "*in the priesthood of ———, priest of Alexander, and the Gods Brothers*" follows. But there are no *Gods Benefactors*, and no *Canephorus*; the month comes next. With any other than the second Ptolemy the words ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ must be followed by either KAI [ΘΕΩΝ, &c.], or KAN[ΗΦΟΡΟΥ].\* We seem to have, therefore, before us a document of the year 268 B.C. ! The nature of

\* There always remains the possibility that the priest or priestess was omitted through inadvertence, seeing that ordinary documents were frequently dated by the king's reign only, especially in Philadelphus's reign. In the present case a difficulty arises from the fact that M. Revillout has found demotic dates *with* a Canephorus, and *without* a priest of Alexander and



the contract is not to me intelligible. Under it is a scrap of a letter dated in the 30th year of the same king, and above it a very clear dating, showing that in some year the 23rd of Daisius was identical with the 3rd of Thoth, or ΘΩΥΘ, as these scribes always write it. The interesting problems connected with this double date will be discussed in the Commentary to that Autotype.

Perhaps the greatest of all the novelties to be reaped from this group (XXII.—XXV.) is its palæographical lesson. For, as the wills gave us the handwriting of the officials of the years 237–25 B.C., so these law-records and bills of labour give us their writing of the years 268–45 B.C.

§ 24. Together with the last of the documents of the second Ptolemy, dated in his 35th year, I have placed a fragment which should have been placed, had we found it in time, next to X. It represents the original tract from which the author of the extant *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* took part of his materials, and must therefore be the composition of Alkidamas, the contemporary and rival of Isocrates. I need hardly insist upon the interest and importance of this curious discovery, which is partly due to the research of my colleague, Mr. L. C. Purser. The text is inserted here because it was discovered just in time to replace another less interesting fragment. The second document on the page is an official missive concerning the rations of some soldiers, who were garrisoned on the edge of the desert, to guard against predatory incursions from the wild tribes which corresponded to the Arabs of later days. XXV. contains a similar kind of missive, dated the 6th year of the third Ptolemy (241 B.C.). The following two Autotypes are also of great palæographical interest, and are dated in the 21st and 22nd years of the third Ptolemy; hence they are contemporary with the finest of all the hands among the wills (cf. XIX.). Yet they are very different from them, and partly written in a most difficult cursive, which shows a degeneration in the forms of Μ and Π which

the Brother Gods, from which he infers that the latter was a later creation. The document now before us would lead us to infer the contrary. I am, therefore, doubtful whether the argument in the text is conclusive, and here, as elsewhere, put forward my inferences as merely tentative.

is quite remarkable. Nothing will prove to the attentive reader more clearly the long-antecedent and familiar use of writing in the Greek world than some of these illegible scrawls from the third century before Christ. And still they have not yet reached the stage when contractions become commonly used.

§ 25. In great contrast to this careless writing is that of the private letters, many of which were imbedded in the cases; but being usually written along very long, narrow strips of papyrus, they have been torn in two, and nothing is so hard to supply as the lost portions of these communications, which treat of private affairs, to which there is generally no clue discoverable. The writing, however, was peculiarly large and fine, I suppose by way of showing respect, or as an evidence of politeness. The letters published in the Louvre collection and by B. Peyron from the Vatican papyri, as well as those Mr. Sayce has printed, are, indeed, all remarkable for their exceedingly courteous, and often affectionate tone. They strike me as not the sort of correspondence we should have found among the Greeks of classical days. When the reader looks at the specimens in the concluding Autotypes, he will at once be reminded of St. Paul's words: "See with what large letters (ΠΗΛΙΚΟΙΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑCΙ) I have written to you in mine own hand." The scribe, or amanuensis, would write a small and cursive hand; the private gentleman, who wrote but little, in large and distinct characters. Yet one of our letters, being from a subordinate to his superior, can hardly be called a good or clear specimen of writing, though very interesting from its contents (XXIX.).

I have since found begging petitions, and letters from people in jail, praying for help and release, as well as acknowledgments of money received, and reports of work done. These documents will afford ample materials for new studies, and will doubtless go far towards supplying us with proper materials for a history of the Ptolemies, such as has not yet been written. But for the present I must conclude my task, leaving the realization of these hopes for others, or for other days, to fulfil.

§ 26. **Palæographical Results.**—I return, in conclusion, to the palæographical questions, which I had already touched in a former page. Though



Professor Wilcken tells us (*Tafeln VII. Com.*) that “he knows of a whole series of documents surely dated in the third century B.C.,”\* he has not been able to produce any of them in his Plates, his two definite references being to the Papyrus Q of Leyden, and to the Papyrus 66 of the Louvre. I hold him to be right in both instances, and believe that the papyri in question really date from the third century B.C.,† but neither of them is dated clearly,‡ as is proved from the fact that their respective editors placed them 200 years later. We must therefore note that Wilcken has given us no examples of ‘undoubted third-century cursives’ among his *Tafeln*. There are also at the opening of the Greek series in Silvestre’s magnificent *Paléographie* two documents asserted to be of the same antiquity, rightly, I think, as to century, though more probably of the third Ptolemy’s time than earlier. Of these the second specimen is closely paralleled by the handwriting of my IV. But here again we are left to conjecture. In the present memoir are published therefore for the first time texts in cursive Greek of the middle of the third century B.C. with unmistakable dates, and of texts in capitals found with and among these cursives.

It is only by these that we can safely determine the age of the undated or incompletely dated documents, which had been already *suspected* to belong to this century without any clear evidence. With the aid of the new light here adduced Dr. Maunde Thompson has given me the following list of the previously-known papyri, &c., which we may refer to the third century B.C. Most of them had been attributed to the second. The Sakkini papyrus I pointed out to him as a certain specimen in this list. On the Papyrus Q of Leyden I have spoken already.

\* I have since learned from a private source, that in this statement he only refers to demotic documents. Most readers of the passage would not understand it in this sense, unless they were warned to do so.

† Cf. on the former my note *ante* (p. 14), and on the latter the closely analogous text and writing of XXII.

‡ That is to say, the year of the reign is given in Pap. Q, but the king is not specified closely enough to remove all question. Where titles such as Philadelphus and Euergetes were re-employed, we must have the king’s father and mother specified, unless the number of the year exceeds that of all the other reigns, as in the late years of Euergetes II. Even a high figure excludes all the shorter reigns, *e.g.* year 35 must belong to either Ptolemy II. or VIII.

CURSIVE GREEK. *Third Century B.C.*

## TABLETS (Loan for burial of an Ibis) :—

Berlin (No. 8131). 31st year of Ptol. Philad. = about 255 B.C.

Brit. Mus., 5849 C. Same date.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., 1893. 30th year of Ptol. Philad.

See *Revue égypt.*, ii. 266, and Appendix, p. 51; also Lenormant in *Philologus*, 1867, p. 340; and Wilcken's *Aktenstücke aus d. könig. Bank von Theben*, 1886, p. 33, note 2.

## OSTRAKA :—

Several said to be in Berlin.

Also some in Brit. Mus., *e.g.* No. 5829.

## PAPYRI :—

Brit. Mus., Nos. L. (valuation of a house), no date.

CVI. Petition for redress. 25th [Euergetes? = B.C. 223?].

LI. A. Do. Fragment. No date.

A Letter of Introduction, no date, described, with a *fac-simile*, by Letronne in Passalacqua, *Catalogue Raisonné des Antiquités découvertes en Égypte, &c.* Paris, 1826. Letronne's description is reprinted in *Notices et Extraits*.

Paris, No. 66. An Account of Works. *Notices et Extraits*, xviii. 2; Plate xlv. *No date.*

Leyden Papyrus Q. A receipt. 26th Ptol. Philad. = B.C. 260.

The Papyrus Sakkini (or Sakkakini) at Athens. Accounts. *No date.*

See *Journ. des Savants*, 1873, pp. 30, 97.

Greek dockets on demotic papyri. Louvre, No. 2433 (33rd year of Philad.).

See Revillout in *Christom. démot.*, 1880, p. 241, and *Revue égypt.*, ii. 114.

Louvre, No. 2429. (14th year of Euergetes I.).

See *Christom. démot.*, 1880, p. 277, with *fac-similes*.

There is also one in the British Museum, which M. Revillout promises to publish in *Soc. Bibl. Archæol.*

§ 27. What are the effects of this new light upon the rapidly expanding science of Greek palæography?

To discuss this problem, I may leave aside altogether the important distinction, which Wilcken justly assumes as clearly established, between



the Ptolemaic, the Roman, and the Coptic periods. All the documents from Gurob belong to the first category. We need only attend to the distinction between capital and cursive writing, upon each of which our documents throws new light. It is indeed clearly laid down by Wilcken (*Tafeln, Introd.*), in opposition to Gardthausen and his predecessors, that cursive writing is much older than was once supposed, and that the crabbed, hasty scrawls of Ptolemy II.'s time prove the long-established use, even then, of such writing. We can now add new and precise data to support this conclusion. The most crabbed specimens of the second Ptolemy's time are not here reproduced, because they belong to the department of private accounts which Mr. Sayce has undertaken to discuss. But from the reign of the third Ptolemy, I have given some remarkable specimens (*cf.* XVI. (2) and XXVIII. (1)), and many more are at present in my possession.

There is another conclusion of Wilcken's (*op. cit.*) here more fully established, viz. that we must henceforth be far more cautious in determining from its general character the date of any handwriting. The variations shown in the accompanying specimens, among the handwritings of the same expressed year, are far more pronounced than the cases to which he calls attention in the VIIIth and XIIth of his *Tafeln*. On the other hand, the more formal writings of this age do not teach us much of the origin of abbreviations, which are to be found in plenty through the accounts and private jottings of which Mr. Sayce has published specimens in *Hermathena*. Unfortunately there was no photographic fac-simile there given, and the resources of mere printing are unequal to the task of reproducing these ancient symbols.

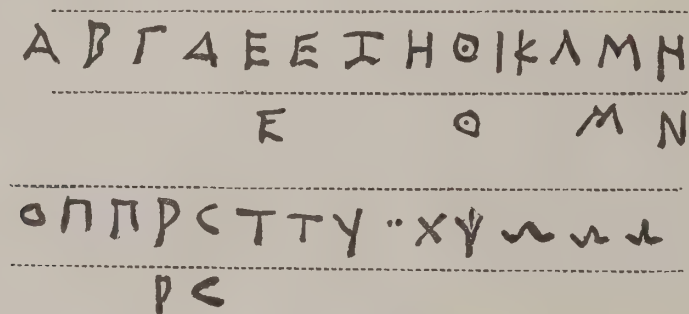
As regards cursive writing, then, the student of Greek palæography will find in the following Plates the earliest known chapter, which he can then follow up in Wilcken's *Tafeln*, and in the dated papers from the reign of the seventh Ptolemy published in Leyden and in Paris.

When we turn to the writing in capitals, which Wilcken thinks of much less importance for the history of Greek writing, the present work will supply materials almost different in kind from his first six *Tafeln*, seeing that not one of these is proved earlier than the Christian era. But there is in Silvestre's *Paléographie* a real specimen (Plate ii.) of the kind

of writing in separate capitals which the Greeks of Egypt used for the transcription of classical books. In addition to the lacerated specimen on IV., which accords closely with Silvestre's Plate ii., I have before me several fragments with ends and beginnings of lines quite similar in character. But what shall we say to the *Antiope* and the *Phædo* in the present series? So distinct are they, and so analogous to the lapidary style, that they either date from classical days, or they are the handiwork of a calligrapher such as those afterwards called ἀρχαιογράφοι, whose duty it was to copy the ancient character in reproducing an ancient book. They stand next to our old inscriptions on stones, and must take the first rank in the history of Greek capital writing.

After I had published these conclusions, my attention was directed by Dr. Maunde Thompson to the solitary text of perhaps equal antiquity, which, though published by Petrettini in 1826, escaped proper notice until it was recognised by Wessely and Blass\* as belonging to the pre-Alexandrian period. It is not a classical fragment, but contains a prayer and imprecation of a woman called Artemisia (apparently against her seducer), deposited in the temple of Serapis (Oserapis).

The alphabet is reproduced in the first column of Blass' specimens I. Müller's *Handbuch*, page 280), but so inadequately, both as regards its relative size and its peculiar rudeness, that I have thought it necessary to give the following woodcut of it:—



\* *Philologus*, vol. 41, p. 746, and more fully in his masterly monograph on Greek Palæography in I. Müller's *Handbuch*, 1886. A. Peyron, who interpreted the other documents published with it, sets it aside as of no interest (*Pap. di Zoide*, p. 2)—so diverse are the tastes of scholars!

It will at once be noticed that in this rude writing considerable variations occur, but I have endeavoured to give every characteristic feature. The points noted by Blass are not so striking as the reader might suppose them to be, and at first I thought them conclusive in favour of an antiquity greater than the *Antiope* and *Phædo* alphabets. But I find that neither the **N** nor the **Π** are so near the epigraphic type—I mean the **N** with the cross stroke nearly horizontal and the right bar consequently shorter, the **Π** with its right leg shorter—as are the alphabets I have already described, in certain cases. In reproducing these alphabets (*ante*, p. 31), I had not given these peculiar cases, but rather the normal form of the letters; but the reader will easily find examples for himself on Plates V.–VIII.\* The **K** does not differ in the three specimens. The solitary **Ψ** in the *Artemisia* text is so blurred, that I hesitate to accept the peculiar narrow form which both of us have reproduced. The **Θ** with a central spot recurs frequently in my IX., though a later hand than the *Phædo*. The partly angular form of the **C** seems to arise from the evident difficulty felt by the writer, or his model, in drawing circular forms. The whole aspect of the text is essentially one imitated from a stone inscription by an ignorant hand. But the **Ω**, which seemed very peculiar when known in its isolation—it was not adequately rendered by Blass—now fits into a regular stage in the history of that letter, first made evident in the present work. The **ω**'s in the *Plato* text—there is actually one **Ω** which I have noted in its place—are quite similar to the *Artemisia* **ω**, and notably written along the top level of the line.† **E**, which in the *Plato* text varies between square and oval forms, is consistently oval in the *Antiope*, consistently angular, though otherwise very irregular, in the *Artemisia* text.

But I have also before me an instance of even an older alphabet, in a fragment relating to the adventures of Heracles.‡ The **B** and **Π** have

\* *E.g.* V. (2), ll. 8, 11; V. (4), l. 3; VIII. (1), l. 11; where both the ordinary **N**, and the peculiar form in question stand in juxtaposition; VI. (1), ll. 5, 13; VIII. (2), l. 19 for a very broad **Π** with a very short right leg.

† *Cf.* especially the **ω** in V. (1), l. 5, and the Plate of Alphabets below.

‡ When he attacked Hippokoon and his sons, with the aid of Kepheus: *cf.* Apollodorus, *Bibl.* II. 7, §§ 3–5. I have not been able to bring these scraps, which I found lying together,



semicircular lobes, and do not come down below the line. They are, in fact, of strictly lapidary form. The **E** is uniformly square.  $\Omega$  (occurring only once in the *Plato* fragments), and not **W**, is regularly used.  $\Theta$  has a square dot, not a line, in the centre. The palæographers refer the *Oath of Artemisia* to the fourth century B.C. The parallel specimens I have discovered show us the type of the very early Greek hands written in Egypt, and I am quite content with 300 B.C. as its probable major limit, feeling that the variations mentioned are rather a proof of general use, than of degrees of antiquity. For I hardly think these differences, which may be even diminished by showing converging variations on either side, can do more than establish a varying fancy in the respective scribes.

All the arguments, however, which Blass has brought to bear, from the similarity of the rude Vienna specimen to lapidary inscriptions, hold good in my more finished specimens, so that I may cite this eminent authority in support of the conclusion I had declared upon the first discovery of the classical fragments. It is also a strong corroboration of his palæographical acumen, and indeed of the firm basis which has been attained on the question of the antiquity of Greek writing, that he was able, without any further clue, to determine the great age of a solitary document. Our corresponding texts were found in such a place, and in such company, that to assign them a late origin is simply absurd; their alphabet corroborates, in almost every particular, his deduction from general considerations.

If I hold the *Plato* text to be about the same in date as the *Oath of Artemisia*, in spite of some small differences, so I think the *Antiope* text is also of the same epoch, though the **E**, which in the *Plato* hand is just verging from square into round, has in the *Antiope* no other than the later form. The slightest archaising in the one, or *neoterising* in the other, would produce this difference; and in the case of such classical books we must remember that the scribe was not composing for himself, but copying from an older

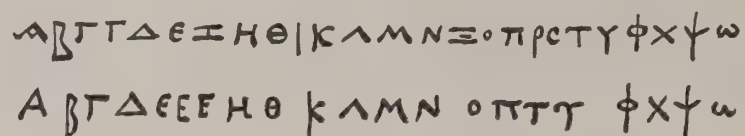
into their natural order, and have therefore not reproduced them in Autotype. The occurrence of the names Herakles, Kepheus, Hippokoon, Alea, Eurotas, makes it quite certain that it was an account (in prose) of the Arcadian episode in the adventures of Herakles, which Apollodorus describes. I have reproduced this important alphabet as the first column in the Plate of Alphabets published with this Memoir.

model before him. It will depend on his temper or fancy how far he copies closely the former hand, or writes a free hand of his own.

When we come to the lesser classical fragments, or extracts, there is still writing in capitals, but in a very different style. No attempt is made at minuteness, and the shape of the letters approximates to that in the careful documents of every day life. There are among these two—the fragment of the *Iliad*, and the *Discourse* on companionship (III., X.) in which peculiarities appear which would hitherto have precluded any attempt to fix them in date. The *Iliad* affects a rounding of the letters which I can show in other documents of the time, but which has a comparatively modern look. The *Discourse*, along with the same tendency, marks the top and bottom of upright strokes with a short cross bar, which has been noticed in MSS. of three centuries after Christ. And yet there is no possibility that any such late document could possibly have been in the Ptolemaic coffins at Gurob.

If we turn from classical books to business papers, the distinction between capitals and cursives becomes very hazy, and we can only rank large writing without ligatures under the former for convenience' sake. The form of the letters in the great hand of the year 225 B.C. (XIX.) is more like that of the cursive hands; but ligatures were seldom used in this or in any of the more careful writing, which Letronne rightly called *cursive posée*. The hands of XIII. are distinctly in capitals, but how easily can we imagine ligatures introduced without any modification of the letters. The documents on XXI. and XXII. are in separate letters; but who will call them with assurance capitals? Beside these hands we have others in which the  $\pi$  and  $\mu$  are reduced to the same irregular curve—very like a boomerang—and from them we are led to what appears in the same year, nay, on the same sheet of paper, a cursive scrawl which is all but illegible (*cf.* XXVIII.). The unmistakably cursive differ as widely as the capital hands; and while there are some easy of decipherment, the others offer a problem only to be solved by conjecture. We rather verify our guesses than spell out the sense by slow steps. Hence it is that so much depends upon ingenuity, upon combination, upon pure good fortune in this study.

§ 28. On the accompanying Plate the reader will find a Table, wherein the principal variations of the alphabet in the Gurob fragments are set down as carefully as possible, both in size and in form, ranging from the very lapidary forms of the *Legend of Herakles* to the flying cursives of the private records. The first two columns, taken from the *Legend of Herakles* and from a scrap in iambic verse which have not been autotyped, should be carefully compared with the two alphabets here repeated, to which



they are very similar. I have added in the Table an additional form or two (2 E's and a Π from the *Phædo*) from these alphabets for the sake of fuller comparison. Then follow some of the other and later capitals; and lastly, the cursives, all noted by the numbers of the Autotypes wherein they occur. But it was, of course, impossible to give all the vagaries of individual scribes, all the fanciful ligatures, still less to reproduce in single letters the general character of each hand; for a prolonged study of them has shown me that *the hands differ much more widely than the single letters of which they are composed*. To take the simplest example, no one would at first sight take the alphabets of the *Antiope* and the *Phædo* to be at all so similar as they here appear when reproduced in single letters.

There is, perhaps, no series so instructive as the successive forms of the ω, which can be traced from its old lapidary form down to the plain horizontal line, along the upper level of the writing, used by the writer of XIV. The first hint of the history of this letter was drawn by Blass from the *Oath of Artemisia*, where it corresponds to the form in my second column. But the first column gives us the oldest type ever yet seen on papyrus. There still remains in almost all the later examples the feeling that the central rise was a vital part of the letter, though it has shrunk together from its old round shape. In every case, too, the cursive ω is a member of the *upper level*, not the lower, of the writing, as distinctly as the cross bar of the τ, or the top of the γ. The third form in



my first column I take to be a vagary. The scribe had probably written O, and then desired to improve it into Ω, thus producing a form which is abnormal, though it corresponds so well to the description of the letter in Kallias' tragedy (*Athenæus*, x. 454 A), κύκλος πόδας ἔχων βραχεῖς δύο.

I do not feel that I need explain the progress or degeneration of each letter in this series, which differs from those in the recognised Palæographies in that here the variations are among contemporary, or nearly contemporary, documents, whereas in other lists a variation of centuries is exhibited; and yet the contrast between the lapidary A and the mere acute angle—between the B with its huge lower lobe, and the pair of down strokes nearly parallel—between the Δ as a triangle, and as a circle—shows that the capitals and cursives of this age represent widely different stages of development. There are twelve letters which suffer small material change, and they are the following:—

- Γ is almost invariable, except that the horizontal bar varies in length.
- Κ is always recognisable at first sight, the left bar being often very long, the rest varying from an angle to a semicircle.
- Ι in cursives has the upright stroke leaning to the right; the lower bar tends to become a curve downward.
- Θ where the cross bar has replaced the central spot, early shows a tendency, though not uniformly, to become oval.
- Ι has sometimes a top or bottom excrescence which is often merely a ligature.
- Λ has occasionally the right bar so raised as to make it almost horizontal.
- Ξ which is usually large and distinct, usually shows the lowest bar in the form of a downward curve.
- Ο is always very small, sometimes a mere spot, but shows in our earliest capitals a slight tendency to become oval.
- Ρ only varies in the length of the tail.

- C** is almost uniformly oval (not round), and the upper end usually runs into the succeeding letter by ligature.  
**Υ** only varies in height and in the method of drawing it. In most cases the *ductus* ends with the down stroke, in others with the right top. In this latter case the vertical stroke sometimes disappears (*cf.* XIX.).  
**Χ** hardly varies. In some cursives the first bar is almost horizontal.  
**Ψ** which is not frequent, is very uniform, the curve being very open, and therefore unlike the doubtful **Ψ** of the *Artemisia* papyrus. I have consequently only given two examples among the ten of the list.

But the rest show such changes as to be often difficult to recognise. **Φ** is, indeed, always clear, yet the fragment of *Alkidamas* affords us a form of **Φ** which is peculiar, though I have found analogies for it in some of the private letters (*cf.* XXX. (1)).

The greater length and weight of the left top, and shortness of the right top, of the **Τ**, which Blass thought (*op. cit.* p. 280) accidental in his solitary specimen, really represent a permanent feature, resulting in the cursive **τ**.

He thinks that the **Ξ** might have had a perpendicular stroke down the middle. This is not confirmed by any of our specimens.

I have found no trace of the angular **Σ**.

Let me point, in conclusion, to the tendency in many of the cursives to produce a horizontal line along the top of the writing, by elongating **Γ**, **Τ**, and **Π**, and even by distorting **Μ**, **ω**, **Λ**, **ϸ**, and **Υ**.

§ 29. I am tempted to apply the results of this evidence to one disputed point in later Greek palæography. In estimating the uncial MSS., which vary from the fifth to the eighth centuries A.D. in age, it has been adopted as an axiom that the circular **Ε**, **Θ**, **Ο**, **ϸ** are older than the smaller oval forms, these latter being regarded as a degeneration of the former. This test has recently been questioned by the learned Abbate

Ceriani, in his masterly introduction to the *fac-simile* edition of the *Codex Marchalianus*, an Egyptian codex, containing the Greek version of the Prophets (Rome, 1890). He argues (p. 36) that in the case of Egyptian MSS. it is quite possible that the oval forms are not necessarily younger, and may have existed side by side with the round **Ε**, **Θ**, **Ο**, **ϸ**. The few specimens of early cursives on papyri seemed to him to corroborate this view.

With the Plate of Alphabets before us, we cannot hesitate to follow him, and to suspect, at least in the case of Egyptian MSS., the test which may in other cases be valid. We now know for certain that the earliest successor of the lapidary **Ε** was not a round, but an oval **Ε**. The same is the case, though not so uniformly, with the **ϸ**. It occurs, though not as a rule, often in the **Θ** and the **Ο**. The writers, therefore, who began, in the earliest centuries of our era, to write large and stately MSS. upon parchment, had before them most undoubtedly more and older specimens of the oval **Ε** and **ϸ** than of the round, many oval specimens of **Θ**, and of the **Ο**, which was a minute and very insignificant letter. It was, on the whole, more likely that the oval form in uncials should prevail from the outset; nor can we doubt that its former predominance may have affected from the first those Egyptian scribes whose love of symmetry did not force them to adopt the larger circular forms. These latter were distinctly an innovation; the former were in accordance with all the traditions of Egyptian Greek.

How did such an innovation arise? When we see it asserted in our hand-books that the circular letters were a direct imitation of lapidary forms, we are naturally led to imagine that the writers of our early copies of the Gospels were people inexperienced in the writing of books, and only beginning to imitate, with the round hand of children, the large and explicit forms which they saw in inscriptions on all the temples, where public records were usually set up. Such a notion is thoroughly un-historical. The writers of the earliest large MSS. of the Gospels had thousands of books before them, and every sort of model in the way of both capitals and cursive writing. We must assume that the Evangelists, like all other authors of that day, wrote their own first copy in very rough



cursive, and that even the earliest private copies were taken in this hand. It was not till such a treatise was found important enough to require multiplication, or publication (as we may call it), that some bookseller would read it out to an office full of professional scribes, who would write out neat copies, probably in small capitals. Then came the days when some books, like the Gospels, acquired the dignity of being sacred, and of being read in the small and dark churches as part of the ritual. This led to the preparation of larger and more elaborate copies, partly from a feeling of respect for the text, partly for the purpose of being easily read in bad light or with weak eyes. Presently we hear of the Emperor Constantine having a number of splendid copies prepared and distributed as gifts to various Churches.\* Such were the causes which produced the elaborate copies still extant of the Books of the Canon, as well as of standard authors like Homer. It was in the palmy days of the Roman Empire that the round uncials seem to have come into vogue. They may have arisen even later, and the fashion may have been determined by the handsome copies prepared by order of the emperor. But if these scribes did indeed imitate lapidary forms, it was not a first or naïve attempt, but a deliberate return to such models after centuries of development had taken place on papyrus. It must have been a purely artificial piece of archaism.

I notice that some authorities account for the new origin of this round uncial by the fact that parchment—then a newly developed material which replaced papyrus—lent itself to fuller and larger characters, whereas the delicacy of papyrus demanded small and slender writing. This seemed probable enough so long as we possessed only the small and cursive specimens of writing on papyrus which have hitherto been published. But if the reader could see the specimens under my eye of splendid bold hands, of full round forms, such as XXX. in this collection, and even larger, he would at once conclude that papyrus was quite adequate to hold uncials of any size, and that such an account of their origin is against all probability. With this, however, I am not now concerned. The main

\* In A.D. 331; cf. on this Gardthausen's *Palæographie*, p. 143.

conclusions I desire to establish are these, that the oval forms of  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\omicron$ ,  $\varsigma$ , which had been in common use for centuries before Christ, were present to the scribes who deliberately adopted the large circular forms of these letters: that these scribes did not copy from inscriptions, but from papyrus books, as is plain enough from their adoption of the large  $\phi$ , which is a distinct feature in early papyri, though not so exaggerated as in our Egyptian uncials: that the oval forms of the four letters were familiar to every scribe who ever wrote a Gospel, and their reappearance after a certain period need not be a degeneration from older and more perfect forms, but rather a partial return to the ordinary writing established for centuries.

MAP OF THE FAYYUM.



## POSTSCRIPT.

Since these sheets were in type, Mr. Petrie has sent me (June 10) proofs of his forthcoming account of the excavations at Gurob. I gladly quote from them the discoverer's own description of the Ptolemaic mummy-cases treated in this Memoir :—

“In a rise of the desert to the north of the town of Gurob an extensive cemetery was formed in Ptolemaic times; and the style of it is so different from that of any other period, that it is worth notice. The usual form of the tombs was a pit eight feet deep widening on the west side into a hollow scooped out in the sandy soil, in which sometimes as many as a dozen coffins were placed. The coffins were all unpainted; of rough brown wood, and thin. The outline was widening to the shoulders and tapering to the feet, like some bassoon cases inverted. The lids had very deep sides, and the coffins were mere shallow trays, with edges not over an inch high; thus just reversing the proportions of the coffins of the XXIIInd dynasty. The only decoration of the coffin was a carved wooden head. These heads are of a most marvellous rudeness; a few are good enough to be grotesque, but others are things of which a Pacific islander would be ashamed. The noses are long triangular ridges, the eyes marked with two scores in the board, and the mouth with a third line. In some the nose is pegged on; and in others a ghastly attempt at improvement is made by painting black and white eyes. Within these grossly rough cases were comparatively fine cartonnages. The separate pieces of cartonnage at this time were the head-piece coming down with a spread on the chest; the pectoral or collar plate, semicircular; the open-work frame with figures of gods; the flat rectangular plate upon the legs, about 4 × 18 inches, with the four genii, and sometimes Isis and Nebhat; and the footcase, with sandals painted on the bottom or two slips separate on the soles of the feet. Sometimes only the head and sandals were used. The earlier heads were tolerably well made, of folds of linen pasted together, and moulded on a block. These blocks were in two parts; the back half, quite smooth behind, which could be withdrawn after moulding; and the front half, with the face in relief, which could be lifted out after the back half was gone. The cloth was pressed on wet, and retains the marks of the junction and carving of the mould. Over the cloth was a coat of stucco, painted dark blue, and often the face was gilt and burnished very skilfully. In later time, about Philadelphos, papyrus was substituted for cloth, and several layers of demotic or Greek papyri were glued together, covered with stucco and painted; sometimes the face was gilt, sometimes yellow, or else white: the back of the head sometimes has scenes of offering painted on it; and this class of head cartonnage developed into the massive plaster headpieces of the IInd and IIInd century found at Hawara, which lead up to the time of painted portraits (see “Hawara,” Pl. IX.).



The later stage of this papyrus cartonnage was under Philadelphos and Euergetes, when they no longer glued together the papyri; but merely soaked them and plastered them one on the other; trusting to crossing them, and a good coat of plaster and glue on the outside, to hold them together.

“The papyri recovered from the glued cases are mostly in a bad state; the gluing, the soaking, and separating, and washing, all injure the writing; and the glue has attracted insects, who in most cases have eaten the papyrus entirely away, and left nothing but a hollow double film of stucco. The later cases made with plain wetting are far the best source of papyri; and where a document has been used whole, and put on a flat part (as down the back, or on the pectoral region), it may be taken out none the worse for its burial of over two thousand years.”

Further, as regards the position of Gurob, I find from personal inquiries, which I could not make until now, that I had placed it too far away from Hawara. It is at the same side of the Fayyum, and not far from the canal which leads the water in, but on the inner side, over against Hawara, and distinctly in the desert. This I learned from examining Mr. Cope Whitehouse's elaborate maps, with the explanations of both the draughtsman and of Mr. Sayce, in this month of June, at Lucerne. Mr. Whitehouse also showed me his drawings of the large southern depression in the desert, which appears to have been filled with water in Ptolemaic times, and thus to have extended the fertile area of the Fayyum very considerably to the south.

The same scholar, who has studied this part of Egypt more carefully than any other living man, also called my attention to the tradition that the Persian queens of Egypt seem to have owned as royalties the fisheries of Lake Mœris. If this be so, it is more than likely that from time immemorial the queens of Egypt derived part of their revenue from this particular province. Consequently, it is more than likely that the Ptolemaic queens succeeded to the same rights, and that hence the Greek colony was founded, partly, at least, upon the queen's manor. This accounts for the nome having the queen's name, even though I do not go so far as Mr. Whitehouse, who believes that Arsinoe was probably an old Egyptian name for the queen, as suzerain of this domain.

Other conjectures are already crowding in upon me from various quarters, but I must leave them to take the form of criticism, or of addition to the materials collected and ordered in this Memoir.

I cannot conclude without repeating my sincere thanks to the Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy, Dr. Edward Perceval Wright, who has watched the printing of this Memoir with unwearied kindness and diligence; to Dr. Maunde Thompson, who has superintended with equally incessant care the production of the Autotypes; to Mr. W. J. M. Starkie, for his exhaustive indexes of the Greek words, which enlarges our vocabulary considerably; and, lastly, to the artists of the Autotype Company, who, after many partial successes over extreme difficulties, have at last succeeded in reproducing faint and faded texts with a perfection beyond all expectation. Those only who have attempted to photograph such subjects can fully appreciate the beauty of this work.

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DESCRIPTION OF TABLE OF ALPHABETS.

- i.—Letters from the fragments of the legend of Herakles, above described, with forms of **€** and **Π** added from the Plato text.
- ii.—Represents letters from other fragments that were so lacerated as not to be worth reproducing in Autotype, but very similar to the Plato and Euripides, except that the hands are larger.
- iii.—Letters taken from xiii. and from ix., the latter instances being marked with a x.
- iv.—Letters gathered from xxv., x., and iii., the last-named being marked with a spot.
- v.—Represents the hand of xii.
- vi.—Represents the hand of xiv.
- vii.—Letters from the very old cursive of xxii. and xxiii., of which several other specimens are extant.
- viii.—Represents the noble hand of xix. and xx.
- ix.—Gives the ornate hand of xviii. (2), together with some cursive forms from the subsequent Autotypes (xxvii. and xxviii., marked with a dot).

In hands, such as those of xxvii. and xxviii., **Λ**, **Μ**, and **Π** are only distinguishable by the sense.

The very large **Ξ** of xiii. is usually a numerical figure.

But a very few ligatures are given; in general they offer no additional difficulties.

TABLE OF ALPHABETS.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.
Α	ΑΔ	Λ Δ*	Λ	Δ Δ	Δ	Δ Λ	Δ	Δ Κ Δ ρ
Β		Β	Β	Β Β	Β	Β	Β Β	Β Ο Β
Γ	Γ	Γ	Γ	Γ			Γ	Γ
Δ	Δ	Δ		Δ Δ			Δ	Δ' Δ'
Ε Ε Ε Ε'	Ε Ε Ε	Ε Ε	Ε	Ε Ε	Ε Ε		Ε	
	Ζ	Ζ <sup>+</sup>	Ζ Ζ				Ζ	Ζ
Η	Η	Η Η		Η	Η	Η	Η	Η Η'.
Θ	Θ	Θ Θ <sup>+</sup>	Θ Θ	Θ	Θ		Θ	
Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι Ι'	Ι			Ι	Ι
Κ Κ	Κ	Κ	κ	Κ	Κ		κ κ	Κ ς
Λ		Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ
Μ	Μ	Μ Μ	Μ	Μ Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ Μ	Λ Λ Μ
Ν	Ν	Ν Ν Ν <sup>+</sup>	Ν Ν'	Ν	Ν Ν'	Ν	Ν	Ν (ω ν) Ν
		Ξ Ξ	Ξ	Ξ	Ξ		Ξ	Ξ
Ο	Ο	Ο	Ο	Ο (π λ)	Ο Ο		Ο Ο	
Π Π'	Π	Π Π <sup>+</sup>	Π Π'	Π Π'	Π		Π	Λ Λ
Ρ	Ρ Ρ	Ρ Ρ	Ρ Ρ Ρ	Ρ	Ρ		Ρ	Ρ
Σ	Σ	Σ		Σ	Σ		Σ	Π Σ (η δ)
Τ	Τ	Τ Τ	Τ Τ	Τ	Τ		Τ	Τ Ζ Τ
Υ Υ	Υ	Υ Τ Υ	Υ Υ	Υ	Υ	Υ	Υ ν ν	Ζ Υ
Φ Φ	Φ	Φ	Φ	Φ	Φ		Φ	Φ
Χ		Χ Ψ <sup>+</sup>	Χ	Χ	Χ	Ψ		Χ
Ω Ω Δ	Ω Ω Ω (ω λ)	Ω Ω <sup>+</sup>	Ω Ω	Ω	Ω Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω



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TRANSCRIPTIONS, COMMENTARIES, AND INDEX.

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AUTOTYPES I. to XXX.





## ERRATA.

- x. 31, 43, *for* τεθεωτι *read* τεθνεωτι.
- xix. 2, ,, ιασωνος *read* ιασονος. .
- xxii. [66] 7, ,, σ *read*  $\frac{1}{2}$ .
- xxv. (2) 3, ,, επισκεψατο *read* επισκεψατω.
- ,, (2) 7, ,, παρτοι παρασο s περι *read* αρτοις παρα σου περι, etc.
- xxvii. (3) 4, ,, της δικ̃<sup>α ην</sup> *read* της δικ̃<sup>α</sup>.
- xxx. [80] 2, ,, παραγενειθαι *read* παραγενεσθαι.





# I.

## NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE* OF EURIPIDES.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

A. ]σδε μηδε οπως φευξομεθα  
 ]ας . . . . s εγεννησεν πατηρ  
 ]ει μεθ ημων τ εχθρον ανδρα τεισεται  
 ]κται δε παντων εις τοσονδε συμφορας  
 ]τ ουδ αν εκφυγοιμεν ει βουλοιμεθα 5  
 ρι[.]ης νεωρες αιμα μη δουναι δικην  
 ]σιδ ημιν εις τοδ ερχεται τυχη  
 ]θανειν δει τωιδ εν ημερας φαιει  
 ]τροπαια πολεμιων στησαι χερι  
 ]ονουτω μητερ εξαυδω ταδε 10  
 ]ο λαμπρον αιθερος ναιεις πεδον  
 ]οσουτον μη γαμειν μεν ηδεως  
 ]α δ ειναι σοις τεκνοις . . . φ.λη  
 ]λον τοδ αλλα συμμαχειν φιλοις  
 ]προς αγραν τε ευτυχως ειη[.] . . ] ην 15  
 ]λωμεν ανδρα δυσσεβεστατον  
 σ . . . ]s ει χρη δοξασαι τυραννικωι  
 .]κ[.]πτρω[.] λυκος παρεστι σιγωμεν φιλοι  
 πους αι πετραν  
 δρασμοις σ . . . δε υος 20  
 τινες δε ναιως δρωντες εκ ποιας . . . .  
 σημαν[.] . ]τ . διπα πετρας  
 δεινον νομιτων αντος ουκ ατιμασας

[Four more effaced lines.]

B. πετ]ρας ηδομαι και . ων εκας  
 ουκ ασφαλεις τοδ ειπας ανθρωπε σκεπας  
 δραν δει τι εκεινους δ οιδ εγω τεθνη[κοτας  
 καλως αρ ειπερ οισθα ταξωμεσθα ν . .  
 ] αλλην η δομων στειχει [.]σω 5  
 ] και πριν οικουμ[ διαστ  
 ] τους ξενους εων μ[ενειν οιος κηρυ  
 ] δορυφορου[.] εξω [.]τ και πρ[.] . ] τα μεν σφ[  
 ] νταιναι . . . οιν π[ ου ιευς εμειχθη[ 20  
 ] εις και συ θησομεν καλως 10 τιδητανεις . . . [  
 ] ηθος εισιν οι ξενοι ιηνος μολουσα σε[  
 ] ουκ εχουσιν εγ χερσιν επειδ οριζει και δ[  
 ] ρουροιτε περιβολον πετρας αυτη τε δεινη[  
 ] ντες καν τις εκ . . . ηι δομων παιδας τε τους [ 25  
 ] δε παιδαν . . . . σ εμηι 15 ωγ χρης ακουειν[  
 ] και χειρι και ταχ εισεται εκοντα δουναι[ι

a

[1]

# I.

## NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE* OF EURIPIDES.

### (COMMENTARY.)

Since the first appearance of these Fragments in *Hermathena* I have received important notes and suggestions from the following scholars:—

Professor F. Blass, of Kiel (Bl.);  
 Professor T. Gomperz, of Vienna (G.);  
 Professor H. Diels, of Berlin (D.);  
 Professor R. Ellis, of Oxford (E.);  
 Professor H. Weil, of Paris (W.);  
 Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, of Göttingen (W-M.); and  
 Rev. G. Rutherford, of Westminster School (R.);

whom I cite according to their initials. Many of their more obvious emendations had already struck Mr. Sayce, Mr. Bury (By.), Mr. Starkie (St.), and myself, but were not mentioned or adopted by me in *Hermathena*, because they could not be fitted into the papyrus as it lay before us. In a few cases, however, these distinguished scholars have not only suggested what had escaped us, but have set me to read the MS. more accurately by the light of their suggestions. Some of the criticisms upon those suggestions are by my colleague, Mr. Beare.

The reader will observe that the division of the letters into separate words is my doing, and for his convenience. But he need not accept these divisions as having more than my authority, guided by the sense, as I understand it.

Most of the critics have, however, only busied themselves with the Fragments now marked B and C (A and C in *Hermathena*), and have not approached the difficult problem of placing the present A, which I had conjectured to be a dialogue between Lycus and the shepherd, or one of the youths who seek to entice him into the snare (μεταπεμψάμενοι δὲ τὸν Λύκον ὡς ἐκδώσονται τὴν Ἀντιόπην, *schol. ad Apoll. Rhod.* iv. 1090); and we now know that they succeeded in making him enter a hut, where they overpowered him. This made me place the fragment after the other on the present Plate, in which the advent of Lycus takes place. W-M., however, has sent me an ingenious theory, which makes all my former doubts revive. Here is his conjectural restoration (of which the last two lines agree with mine in *Hermathena*):—

— οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς τόδ' εἶπας, ἄνθρωπος σύ γ' εἶ.  
 — δρᾶν δεῖ τι, κείνους δ' οἶδ' ἐγὼ τεθνηκότας.  
 — καλῶς ἄρ' εἶπερ οἶσθα, ταξώμεσθα δὴ.  
 — τάξιν τίν' ἄλλην, ἣ δόμων στείχειν ἔσω;

and he adds, *ex oratione alterius colloquentium*—

ἡμεῖς καὶ σὺ θήσομεν καλῶς,  
 ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὀλίγον πλῆθος εἶσιν οἱ ξένοι,  
 ἔγχει δὲ λογχάς τ' οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐγ χεροῖν,  
 Λύκος δ' ἔβη φρουροί τε πάντες εἰς πέτρας.

# I.

## NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE* OF EURIPIDES.

### (COMMENTARY.)

W-M. thinks that the dialogue is one of Antiope with the old shepherd, who had brought up the twins, and who knows her to be their mother. Hence, after the usual manner of Greek tragedy, Euripides prepares by various devices the *recognition* scene,\* suggesting that the sons she had borne in this wild place might still be there to protect her as a fugitive. She says, in her despair, "this is impossible," to which he answers, "do not be too positive; your judgment is human and fallible." She insists, "but I know they are dead." He replies, "well, if you are indeed so very certain (ironically expressed), let us prepare for the struggle ourselves as best we can"—an old man and his sons, with a fugitive woman, against royal guards. And so they agree to go within the house. The shepherd then seems to say that Lycus and his guards are not there; that only Dirce and her Maenads have come into the mountain; these Maenads formed a second chorus. Thus the recognition is prepared, which seems to be the subject of the right column of the fragment.

The whole conclusion of the play may, therefore, according to W-M., be thus reconstructed—(1) Antiope, the old shepherd, the recognition by her sons (Frag. B on the Plate); (2) Dirce enters with her second chorus; (3) altercation of Dirce, ending in the proposed punishment of Antiope being turned on Dirce; (4) a choral ode; (5) the messenger narrates Dirce's end; (6) choral ode; (7) the approach of Lycus (Frag. A) and fears of Antiope; (8) speech of Lycus, and his entrapment by the young men; (9) final ode, with scene, and the *Deus ex machina* (Frag. C).

While every word from so eminent an Euripidean scholar commands my deep respect, I cannot but re-state my former conjecture (in which Diels and Blass agree), that we have before us the scene in which one of the youths, or the old shepherd, enticed Lycus into the snare. The ironical tone is just as suitable to this situation. The opening line may be a note of hesitation in Lycus. *Qu.* "The shelter (*σκέπας*) you propose is not safe, stranger." *Ans.* "There is no danger, as the sons of Antiope (who might still be living in this mountain where they were exposed) are certainly dead." "Very well, then, if you are sure of it; how are we to catch Antiope (for which purpose Lycus was come)?" "We had better hide in the house, which is small and mean, and don't let your guards follow you. Send them to keep watch on the rocks around," &c. If this be the sense, then the speech on the right column may be from an altercation with Antiope, who re-appears, or from a contemptuous utterance of Lycus on the claims of Antiope and her children. The reason which makes me urge this interpretation is the probability that our fragments belong to the concluding columns of the play, and are, therefore, from scenes closely adjoining. Hence, if our first fragment mentions the advent of Lycus, we are already near the end; the very next pair of columns could be our Fragment B; only one more page, or pair of columns, would be required to give us the lost matter before we come to the close of the play in Fragment C. I think that these fragments, found together, and without any trace of other scraps of the play, are more probably adjacent pieces than columns derived from widely-separated scenes.

As the text has faded considerably since Mr. Sayce and I first read it, I add the following notes:—

B. 1, after the *kai* are five faint letters, ending, I think, with *κα*, or *σα*, and beginning with strokes like an *ω*. By. conjectures *κακῶν ἐκάς*. 2, the letter after *ανθρωπ* appeared clearly

\* According to the scholiast above cited, the old shepherd disclosed his secret, not to the mother, but to the young men, as they were about to tie her to the bull.



## I.

NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE* OF EURIPIDES.

## (COMMENTARY.)

to be ε, and I once read υγ with a gap of one letter from the ε, but what I now see may be σκέπας, which makes good sense. 4 has [π]ω[ς] apparently at the end; but here many ends of verses have been totally wiped out. 13 I have at last deciphered φ]ρουροῖτε περίβολον πέτρας. 14 and 15 were very much effaced in the middle, and the readings from the outset uncertain. In 14 By. conjectures κἄν τις ἐκπίπτῃ δόμων. 16, on the contrary, is clear enough, but was to me long unintelligible; καὶ χειρί are the first words, as By. read them.

The other fragment on the Plate, which I now call A, has met with much more attention. The general sense was found by Mr. Bury, whose restoration has been since much improved by many good suggestions, but only altered in one important particular. Bl. and W-M., independently, saw that v. 17 belonged to the chorus as well as 18, and this enabled Mr. Bury and myself to read the end of 17 and the opening of 18 correctly, so true is it, as Professor Diels writes to me, that without all the possibilities being present to the decipherer's mind, many certain readings will remain undetected. The following gives the outcome of what has been attained by such suggestions. H. Weil's restoration is in the current number of *Revue des Études grecques* (pp. 481 sq.), and, therefore, need not occupy us at length here.

On the general construction of the scene W-M. writes: One of the youths converses with Antiope, while the chorus is present, and presently Lycus comes in as a fourth *persona* (for no one seems to leave the stage). Then Lycus is overpowered within the hut, but apparently not off the stage, the open rustic dwelling forming part of the scene. The proper analogy is to be found in the nearly contemporary *Philoctetes* of Sophocles. There are scenes on vases (Dilthey in *Arch. Zeit.* for 1878; Körte, *Urn. Etrusc.* ii. t. v. 4—I copy these references from W-M.'s very minute MS.) which corroborate this treatment of four persons on the stage. W-M. also notices the repetition of the same idea in vv. 5-8, 9-11, which points, he thinks, to the fusion of two editions. He does not believe that the poet whose style is so terse (we often find—in Fragment C especially—the whole sense to depend upon a single lost word) published the play with such iterations.

There is a general consensus as regards my attributing the words to Zethus, who is encouraging his mother. I give the various suggestions which make up the following reconstruction in critical notes below. These suggestions were made after reading Mr. Bury's reconstruction, but are otherwise mutually quite independent.

[εὐφημος ἴσθ'· οὐ μὴ κρατήσομεν δόλοις]  
 φαύλοισι τοῦ]δε μηδ' ὅπως φευξοίμεθα, 1  
 εἴπερ γὰρ ἡμ]ᾱς [Ζεῦ]ς ἐγέννησεν πατήρ  
 σώσ]ει μεθ' ἡμῶν τ' ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα τείσεται,  
 ἴκ]ται δὲ πάντως εἰς τοσόδ'ε συμφορᾶς  
 ὥς] οὐδ' ἂν ἐκφύγοιμεν εἰ βουλοίμεθα 5  
 Δίρ]κης νεῶρες αἶμα μὴ δοῦναι δίκην.  
 ἅπα]σι δ' ἡμῖν εἰς τόδ' ἔρχεται τύχη  
 ὥστ' ἦ] θανεῖν δεῖ τῷιδ' ἐν ἡμέρας φάει  
 ἦ νυν] τροπᾶια πολέμιων στῆσαι χειρί.  
 καὶ σοὶ μ]ὲν οὕτω, μήτερ, ἔξανδῶ τάδε, 10  
 σοὶ δ' ὅς τ]ὸ λαμπρὸν αἰθέρος ναίεις πέδον

# I.

## NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE* OF EURIPIDES. (COMMENTARY.)

λέγω τ]οσοῦτον, μὴ γαμεῖν μὲν ἠδέως  
 σπείραντ]α δ' εἶναι σοῖς τέκνοις ἀνωφελῇ,  
 οὐ γὰρ κα]λὸν τόδ' ἀλλὰ συμμαχεῖν φίλοις.  
 νῦν δ' ἐλθῆ] πρὸς ἄγραν τ' εὐτυχῶς θείης ὁδόν, 15  
 ὅπως ἔ]λωμεν ἄνδρα δυσσεβέστατον.  
*Cho.* ἀλλ' αὐτὸ]ς εἰ χρὴ δοξάσαι τυραννικῶι  
 σκήπτρῳι Δύκος πάρεστι, σιγῶμεν φίλοι.

The rest is too much destroyed to give us more than the clue that Lycus speaks, asks explanations, and defends his own action. I proceed to details:—

The reconstruction by W-M. to introduce the *μηδ' ὅπως* = *nedum* of the text; but *nedum* is rather *μη ὅπως*. There was probably another *ὅπως* introducing a positive clause.

- V. 1. As *σ* is there, St. reads ἐνστυῆθι τοῖσδε, understanding ὄρα before ὅπως.
2. μάτην γὰρ ἡμᾶς Ζεὺς, formerly By. The text is W-M.'s improvement. So W.
3. τ', W-M., W., is the correct reading of the MS. for our former γ'. σώσει, W-M. ἥξει, By.
4. ἵκται, By. The latter half of the κ is visible, possibly it is an σ; there is only room for one letter before it. All the critics have, however, accepted ἵκται.  
 On the other hand, we saw from the beginning the difficulty of πάντων, but the ν is quite clear; so is the final ς of συμφορᾶς; and yet there is an agreement that something must be wrong. πάντ' οὖν, By.; πάντως, W-M.; πᾶν νῶιν, D.; all of which we had thought of. Bl. suggests συμφορά as the correction; By., keeping πάντων, now proposes συμφοραί, a *schema Pindaricum*, which might have puzzled the scribe.
5. ὥς, W-M., who rejects ὥστ' as not good grammar. The τ is, however, plain in the papyrus.
6. Part of the ρ of Δίρκης seems to be visible.
7. ἅπασι, Bl.; πρὸς τοῖσι, W-M.; κτείνασι, E. μένουσι is suggested by Prof. L. Campbell, and W.
8. ὥστ', Bl.; ὥς, W-M. νὼ μὲν, R.
9. ἡ νυν, Bl; ἡ καί, W-M., D. σὺ δ' ἄν, R. There is room for a letter between στῆσαι and χερί (and R. reads στῆσαις), but G. reminds me that the scribes often passed over a rough spot, and so created an apparent gap. This seems to be the case here.
10. καὶ σοί, Bl., W-M.; ἀντὶ σέθεν, D.; δεδομέν', W. I felt from the outset that ἐξαυδῶ must be active, and, therefore, abandon By.'s suggestion, ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν.

# I.

## NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE* OF EURIPIDES.

### (COMMENTARY.)

- V. 11. σοὶ δ' ὅς τός, Bl., W-M; ἀλλ ὅς, D.
12. λέγω τ', Bl.; φράζω τ', W-M.; Ζεῦ δός τ', D.; δός μοι, E. For γαμεῖν in this lower sense, cf. Eurip. *Tro.* 44: γαμεῖν βιαίως σκότιον λείχος.
13. σπείραντα, By., W-M.; γήμαντα, D., which we had already weighed with σπείραντα; θέλ' εἶτα, E.
14. οὐ γάρ, W-M.
15. ἀλλ' ἐλθέ, D.; σῶσον δέ, By. formerly, but now θέλοις or χροῖζοις (with συμμαχεῖν); θείης ὁδόν, By., for which D. (*deutsch. Lit. Zeit.* March 7, 1891) suggests θείης πάγην; R. ἴθι λαμπρὸς ἄγραν τ' εὐτυχῇ θείης ἐμήν.
- 17 and 18. Seen by both Bl. and W-M. (and now by W. in his article, but independently) to belong to the chorus; hence a more careful reading (undertaken to verify and decipher the suggestion of W. and of W-M., βλέπων) showed me πτρ and the foot of a κ before them. From this By. conjectured σκήπτρῳι, and we then found that we had read τυραννικόν falsely for τυραννικῶι. The chorus consisted (cf. schol. to Eurip. *Hippolytus*, 58) of "Theban old men," whom Wecklein (*Sitz. ber. Münch. Akad.* for 1878, ii. 174), judging from their supposed title of *Astici* (as Orelli reads fr. iv. of Pacuvius's *Antiope*), describes as townsmen, who had come to a Dionysiac feast in Cithæron. The present lines suggest that they were local peasants, who did not know Lycus.
20. After δέ I think I can read σωθῆναι . . . before νος.



## II.

NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE* OF EURIPIDES.

( TRANSCRIPTION.)

### C.

<i>Cho.</i>	]	ντας ως ματην λογω[		οταν δε θαπτηις αλοχον εις πυραν τιθεις	
		]μμαχους ανωφελεις		σαρκων αθροισας της ταλαιπωρου φυσιν	
		]ης αν θεος θελη		οσ τε πυρωσας αρεος εις κρηνην βαλειν	
		]την δ ανα στεγην ταχα		ως αν το διρκης ονομ επωνυμον λαβηι	40
		]ριων σθενος βροχοισι κατα	5	κρηνης [...]ρρους ος διεισιν αστεως	
		]βροτων δ αν τεχναις		πεδια τ[...]ης υδασιν εξαρδων αι	
		]ον · ιωι μοι μοι		υμεις δ[...]ιδαν οσιος ηι καδμου πολις	
	αεα[			χωρειτε [ ] . s αστυ δε ισμηνου παρα	
	. αιδ[	]των νεανιων χερες		επτασ[...]ον πυλαισι[.] εξαρτυετε	45
<i>Lyc.</i>	] προσπ[	]ντες ουκ αρηξετε	10	συμη . [ ] τοπνευμ . . πολεμιων λαβων	
<i>Cho.</i>	αλαλαιετ[...]	γα βοαι . αρεωσ . . ω μελος		ιηθως[...]. . πον . ν συ[.]ν δ αμφιονι	
	] γαια καδ[...]	αι πολ[.]μ ασωπικον		λυραν κ[...]ω δ[.] χερων ωπλισμενον	
		κλυεις οραι π[. . .]λαλει . περοιν φοβερους		μελπειν θεου[...]δαισι . ν εψονται δε σοι	
		αιματος δικ[....]. . χρονιος αλλ ομως επεσεν		πετραι τε[.]υμναι μουσικηι κηλουμεναι	50
		ελαβεν οταν[....]να ασεβη βροτων	15	δεν . . τε μητρος ει . . . ουσ α εδωλια	
<i>Lyc.</i>	οιμοι θανουμαι προς δυοιν ασυμμαχος			ωστενμ[....]ν τεκτονων θησει χερι	
	την δ εν νεκροισιν ου στενεις δαμαρτα σην			ιευς τηνδε τιμην συν δ εγω διδωμι σοι	
<i>Lyc.</i>	η γαρ τεθνηκεν καινον αν λεγεις κακον			ουπερ τοδ ευρημ εσχες αμφιων αναξ	
	ολκοις γε ταυρειοισιν διαφορουμενη			λευκω δε πωλω τω διος κεκλημενοι	55
<i>Lyc.</i>	προς του προς υμων τουτο γαρ θελω μαθειν	20		τιμας μεγιστας εξετ εγ καδμου πολει	
	. γμανθανοις αν ως ολ . λε ημων υπο			και λεκτρα ο μεν θηβαια [.]εται γαμων	
	. . λ η τι[...]. εφυκατ ων ουκ οιδ εγω			οδ εκ φρυγων καλλιστον [.]ναυστηριον	
	τι τουτ ερευν[α]ις εν νεκροις πευσει θανων			την ταυταλλον παιδ αλλ[.]ον ταχιστα χρη	
<i>Hermes.</i>	υ υ ευω[-]ον εξορμωμενους			σπευδειν θεου πεμπαντος οια βουλεται	60
	]ξ αμφιον[.]τολας δε σοι	25	<i>Lyc.</i>	ω πολλ αελπτα ζευς τιθεις καθ ημεραν	
	]ενω			εδειξας [ ] τασδ αβουλιας εμας	
	]φερων			εσσφρ . . [.] δοκουντας ουκ ειναι διος	
	]στερωπ[.]ος			παρεστε και ιιτ εφρε μηνυτης χρονος	
	]π αρνησηι ταδε			ψειδεις μεν ημας σφωιν δε μητερ ευτυχειν	65
	]αλλονδ . . θετο	30		ιτε νυν κρατυνετ αντ εμου τησδε χθονος	
	]ακα			λαβοντε καδμου σκηπτρα τηγ γαρ αξιαν	
	]λλα γη			σφωιν προστιθησιν ιευς εγω τε συν δι	
	]νοντας εγ διος			ερμη[.]μ[.] . . . . .]ος εις κρηνην [.]αλω	
	]ος μοναρχιαν	35		γυναικα θαιψας της[ ]οινουσα γης	70
	]αδμειοις αναξ			νασμοισι τεγγηι πεδια θηβαιας χθονος	
				διρκη προς αν[ ]ων υστερων κεκλημενη	
				λυω δε νεικη και τα πριν πεπραγμενα	

## II.

### NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE* OF EURIPIDES.

(COMMENTARY.)

We now come to the longest and most connected fragment (C), being either a leaf, or at least two columns, with a few pieces broken off, and a good many words effaced. But the connexion is quite clear. It begins with the close of an excited choral song, after Lycus has gone into the snare prepared for him by the young men. Then he reappears dragged out by them from a hut *upon the stage*, as W-M. suggests, a captive, and about to be slain. After an excited dialogue Hermes intervenes, stops this new violence, and gives directions to Lycus and to Amphion concerning the building of Thebes, and the transfer of the monarchy to Amphion. Zethus, who was no doubt the younger, is treated as of little importance. With the acquiescing reply of Lycus, which we have complete, the fragment closes. The possible vestiges of a letter at the right edge opposite the 15th line of this column suggest that Amphion may also have made a short speech, for the concluding lines of the chorus would not be more than from three to six. Let us come to details:

The opening lines of the left column are apparently, as W-M. conjectures, spoken by the coryphæus (in iambic metre), while vv. 5, 6 are in lyric metre. He restores the passage as follows:

<i>Coryphæus</i> , .	. τάχ' ἂν μάθοις ἀπό]ντας ὡς μάτην λόγω[ν καλεῖς ἀπειλαῖς συ]μμάχους ἀνωφελεῖς οὗς δ' οὐκ ἔδοξας ζῆν] ἐὰν θεὸς θέλῃ ἡβῶντας ὄψει] τήνδ' ἀνὰ στέγην τάχα.	
<i>Chorus</i> , .	. φονίοις μακα]ρίων σθένος βρόχοισι κατα- δεῖ τὸν ἄδικον] βροτῶν δ' αὖ τέχναις τίς ἔφυγεν θε]όν. <i>Lycus</i> , ἰὼ μοί μοι.	5

D. suggests on 5 *θηρίων*, and on 7 *ἔπesson*.

W-M. also calls attention to his explanation of this lyric metre in his edition of the *Hercules Furens*, ii. 188, and thinks that two verses for the coryphæus must have followed. Then he gives the alternate exclamations of Lycus (who is still within the hut, but on the stage), and the chorus, viz., after the line (according to D.'s restoration)

καὶ δὴ πρόδηλοι τῶν νεανιῶν χέρες—

as follows:—

<i>Lycus</i> , .	. ὦ πρὸς θεῶν γέροντες οὐκ ἀρήξετε;	10
<i>Chorus</i> , .	. ἀλαλάζεται μέγα βοᾷ θανάσιμῃ μέλος.	
<i>Lycus</i> , .	. ὦ γαῖα Κάδμου καὶ πόλισμ' Ἀσωπικόν.	
<i>Chorus</i> , .	. κλύεις, ὄρᾳ [this line has not yet been restored by us]. αἵματος δίκ[α τοι δίκαι] χρόνιος, ἀλλ' ὁμῶς ἔπessεν ἔλαβεν ὅταν [ἔχη τι]ν' ἀσεβῆ βροτῶν.	15

## II.

### NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE* OF EURIPIDES.

#### (COMMENTARY.)

10. D. suggests δραμόντες. The second π is plain: hence I still suggest πρόπολοι δραμόντες.

13. The first two words, and φοβερ, are very plain, the rest either gone or so faint as to be very doubtful. Even with the help of Stobæus' quotation, who gives the last word in v. 14 as ὑποπесоῦς, we cannot reconstruct the sense. ἔπαισεν is tolerably plain; ἔλαβεν quite so. By. suggested σπάθαν, which would give good sense; E. ἔπαισεν; but Stobæus, evidently, read something like ἔπαισεν in sense.

The next five lines, which I saved by bringing two separate fragments luckily together, are plain enough. I need only note ἀσύμματος as a new compound, and that I formerly printed from the MS. διαφερουμένη, which still looks like what the scribe wrote. But he *may* have written φορ, the letter being faint, and the ε and ο in this hand being often very like, especially in this state of the papyrus.

21-2. The *paragraph* line over τί τοῦτο marking the alternate speaker is torn off with a piece of the papyrus. For that reason it is omitted in the transcription, though it may be supplied with perfect certainty. Starting from my imperfect decipherment, given in *Hermathena* (which, however, gave λητι in 22 as the surviving letters), W-M. suggested the following:

*Amphion, or Zethus,* ἐγμανθάνοις ἄν, ὦν γονὰς οὐκ οἶσθ' ἄπο.  
*Lycus,* πῶς δὴ, τίνων πεφύκαθ' ὦν οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγώ;

The following was the restoration of G. (D. giving ὅστις ἦν in 21):

ἐγμανθάνοις ἄν ὥς ἔχει τῶν σῶν ὑπό.  
οὐ δὴτ' ἴδρις πέφυκ', ἀπὼν οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγώ.

I have now restored the passage as follows:—

*L.* πρὸς τοῦ; πρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦτο γὰρ θέλω μαθεῖν.  
*A.* ἐγμανθάνοις ἄν, ὥς ὅλωλ' ἡμῶν ὑπο.  
*L.* ἀλλ' ἢ τίνων πεφύκαθ' ὦν οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγώ;  
*A.* τί τοῦτ' ἐρευνᾷς; ἐν νεκροῖς πεύσει θανών.

24-5. On this D. suggests ἐξορμώμενον εἶργω σ' ἀναξ" Ἀμφιον, and G. εὐώνυμον μὲν ἐς ὁδὸν ἐξορμώμενον ὁρῶ σ' ἀναξ" Ἀμφιον. A careful examination of the papyrus shows me ἐξορμώμενους as the reading, and the remains of the ξ visible at the fracture, so that ἀναξ is almost certainly the previous word. I now add ἐντολὰς δέ σοι, and then there came possibly πατρός προσανδῶ. The σοι is very doubtful now, but was at first clear.

W-M. desires to read ἐξορμώμεθα on account of the v. 29 ἀ]παρνήσῃ τάδε, which he considers part of the dialogue, but if fut. indic. and 2nd pers., it should end in -ει. This is the rule, and confirmed here by v. 23: πεύσει. With this, therefore, I cannot agree; I feel certain that Hermes intervenes at v. 24. The following seems to be the course of his speech.



## II.

### NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE* OF EURIPIDES.

(COMMENTARY.)

He first stays and addresses the youths, giving them his commission from Zeus. (In v. 28, D.'s suggestion, ἀστερωπόν, led me to read the MS. differently, but it seems the last word of the line; the metre demands an additional syllable; there seems some room for a small letter between the π and the ος.) The words "you shall not deny this" (29) are addressed probably to Lycus, and introduce the direction that these youths (βλαστά]νοντας ἐγ Διός, 34, G.) must succeed to the royal power, which Lycus must surrender. Then follows in the next column ὅταν δέ.

We now come to the right column, of which the first four lines are complete. I will only mention that, in my former publication, I printed (by a curious clerical error) βαλὼν instead of τιθείς, which is quite plain at the end of the first line, and appears in my rough copy. ἄστεως is also now clear. Line 38 St. would prefer χύσιν for φύσιν, comparing *Anthol.*, v. 37, σαρκῶν χύσιν. The passage proceeds:

κρήνης [ἀπό]ρρους δὲ δίδεισιν ἄστεως	41
πεδία τ[ὰ Θήβ]ης ὕδασιν ἐξάρδων ἀεὶ.	
ὕμεις δ['] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅστις ἦι Κάδμου πόλις	
χωρεῖτε [παῖδε]ς ἄστυ δ' Ἰσμηνὸν πάρα	
ἐπτάστομον πύλαισιν ἐξαρτύετε.	45

There seems no doubt about these restorations, most of which I have already printed; in v. 44, παῖδες and Ἰσμηνόν are from W-M. But cf. *Soph. Antig.* 966, where Codex L gives παρὰ πελάγεων (*sic*, St.). χωρεῖτ' ἐς ἄγκος, *sc.* into the valley, D. χωρεῖτε ρείθροις, Bl.

But now come the difficulties, though the general sense is clear. Zethus is to attend to the defence of the country by arms; Amphion is to build Thebes with his lyre. Hence:

D.	σὺ μὲν φθόρον τὸ πνεῦμα πολέμιων λαβών,	46
	Ζῆθ', ὥς πρίν, ἔχε πόνον, σῦδην δ' Ἀμφίονι	
	λύραν κελεύω διὰ χερῶν ὠπλισμένῳ	
	μέλπειν θεοὺς ὠιδαῖσιν, ἔψονται δέ σοι	
	πέτραι τέρεμναι, μουσικῇ κηλούμεναι. κ.τ.λ.	50
G.	σὺ μὲν μαιφόνεμα πολέμιων λαβών,	46
	Ζῆθ', ὥς τάχιστ' ἀπόφερε, σὺν δ' Ἀμφίονα κ.τ.λ.	

I forbear to give other reconstructions of 46, which depart widely from the traces on the papyrus.

G. had before suggested σκύλευμα in v. 46; Bl. and W-M. demand (in 47) Ἀμφίονα; the second ι is, however, plain in the MS. We all thought of τέρεμναι, and θέλυμναι, the vestiges being τε. υμναι, so that the scribe may have hesitated between these words. Either is demanded by all the critics, and I suppose we must correct the MS. into τέρεμναι. D. observes that, in Egyptian papyri, τ and θ are apt to be confounded.

## II.

### NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE* OF EURIPIDES. (COMMENTARY.)

The next two lines have also been variously restored, but not quite according to the pretty clear, but perplexing traces on the papyrus, viz. : *δεν . . τεμητρος εινι . ουσα εδωλια . εινι* (for *εν*) is a possible form in Euripides, and so we should have *δόμοισι μητρὸς εἰνὶ Μοῦσ' ἐδώλια ; ὥστευμ* in the next line is very doubtful.

W-M. *δόμοισι μητρὸς ἔνθα Μοῦσ' ἐδώλια*  
*σὴ γ' εἰς ἄμειλλαν τεκτόνων θήσει χερὶ*  
 D.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{δέμουςα} \\ \text{θεμέθλια δ', ἣ πρόσσεισι, Μοῦσ' ἐδώλια} \\ \text{εὐτεχνος οἶον τεκτόνων θήσει χερὶ.} \end{array} \right.$

St. renders the whole passage thus :

*σὺ μὲν τὸ τόξον ῥῦμα πολεμίων λαβὼν,  
 Ζήθ', ὥς πρίν, ἐκπόνησον, ἐν δ' Ἀμφίονι  
 λύραν καθάπτω διὰ χ κ.τ.λ.*

51  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{δόμους δὲ μητρὸς εἴτα Μοῦσα ἐδώλια} \\ \text{ἄστωες μελωδῶν τεκ. θ. χ.} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{δένδρη τε · μητρὸς εἴτα M. ἐ.} \\ \text{ἄτερ βροτείων τ. θ. χ.} \end{array}$

V. 54 was reconstructed by a brilliant guess of By. confirmed by the faint traces in the papyrus.

57. *γάμων*, conjectured by Bl., is really in the MS. I had read *γάμον*, as only the first lobe of the *ω* is visible, but had suspected *γαμείν*, from the empty space left which Bl.'s conjecture exactly fills.

58. Mr. Sayce first restored *ἐνναυστήριον*, which W. did independently. The Lexica vary between *ευναστ.* and *ευνατ.*

59. W. first suggested *ῥσον*, which we thereupon read in the MS. So also

60. *οἶα*, which we had read independently.

61. *ὦ πόλλ' ἄελπτα Ζεύς* was By.'s solution for vestiges which long perplexed us here.

62. We had already thought of *ἔδειξας εἰς φῶς* (Bl. and E.), *ἔργω* (D.), but not of *ἔδειξε τήνδε* (G.). *ἔδειξας ὀψέ* (St.).

63. *ἔσφηλεν* (G.), which, however, does not agree with the curious traces of the MS. For this Bl. and R. suggest *ἐς σφὼ μάτην* (*ἐς σφώ, γένος* W-M.). This we had already tried to fit to the traces, without success. *εσσφρα* seems almost certain. If the participle *ἔσσφραγίσας* were Euripidean Greek, it would fit the traces and the gap exactly. E.'s *εἰς φράτορας* is perhaps the truth.

We had thought of *ἐσέφρησε δὴ* and *ὅς ἔφρασα τούς*, of which the former agrees most nearly with the papyrus, and which W. since suggested. *ἐκφρέντι* (D.).

## II.

### NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE* OF EURIPIDES.

#### (COMMENTARY.)

V. 64. I now think that the scribe wrote Ζιτ for Ζητ, and left a gap after εν, from some roughness in the papyrus. ηῦρε has, of course, been suggested.

65. εὐτυχεῖν is plain in the MS.

66. ἴτ' οὔν (E.), but the νυν is clear.

69. Ἐρμῆ δὲ πεισθείς (W-M.) we had thought of. κελυσθείς (D.) (which agrees best with the remaining traces). ἔρμῃ τ' ἐπειδάν (Bl.). λείψαν' (St.). βαλῶ I had restored at the first reading.

70. τῆσδ' ὅπως θανοῦσα γῆς, W-M.: κραίνουσα, D., and G., who compares *Oed. Col.* 296. ὑγραινουσα (St.), cf. *Helena* 2 and 3, and *Herc. Fur.* 946 for χθονός in apposition to γῆς. I think νπ may be the letters before the gap, though very faint, and also that R.'s ἴν' οὔσα γῆς is there.

I have done my best to render to each of the above-named scholars his due credit, but must add that though I printed but very few notes in *Hermathena*, we had studied the text with every care, and rejected deliberately many obvious suggestions, made subsequently from the printed text, by scholars who had not seen the original. We had of course enormous advantages in having before us the character of the writing, the size of the gaps, and many faint traces which no fac-simile, however good, can reproduce. For this reason I can hardly hope that more will be *read* than I have now printed. But there are lines (*e.g.* A 22, C 21, 46, 51), where the right conjecture, when made, will be established without difficulty. This warning may be needed for those sanguine persons who seem to think that as soon as they see the autotype fac-simile, all will be quite clear, and that they will easily supply what we have failed to explain.



# III

## CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS (TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1)

επιχαρμον

—  
τις δυστυχων βιον τ εχων  
τε καγαθον ψυχαι διδωι  
ν . . τι φασω μακαριον  
αμον? χρησησιν των αλλων . .

5

ευριπιδου

—  
τις και βιον κεκτημενος  
. των καλων θηελ . ε  
ονου π[. . .]ολβιο

(2)

αρ ω γυναι κλ  
παις ηλε . νιδιο  
μαλλον δη π  
οδα . . ρος ηδη τ  
παις? ε  
καλεια . . ηαν  
μα ιασυμ  
— ημειν μεν ει . λιπρο  
καυλειν ετοιμος κα  
Αγαμεμνον ου γαρ  
κινδυνος ημιν ου  
οπως απλοιας ηικ  
ληξαντες εις γην  
— αλλ εισακουσει φη  
μηνιμ ατρειδαν  
και τον λοκρων αρχ[οντα  
]ρα χρηναι και

5

10

15

(3)

ι τοιο ανακτος  
ι ποδωκης δι αταλαν[τη  
τω . ν ληλουγ εχε  
αναινετο ουλον ομιλ[ον  
ιν γαμον αχρης τα μοι  
α εινε

5

(4)—ILIAD, XI., 502 sqq.

502 ]ρεϊων	518 βαιν [Ασκληπιαδου	20
503 αλαπαζ]ε φαλαγγας	519 μα[στιξε	
504 αχαι]οι	— ως	
— ]νοησεν	521 κεβρι[ονης	
505 ποσις η]υκομοιο	522 εκτ[ορι	5
506 ποιμε]να λαων	523 εκτορ ν[	25
507 δεξιον ωμ]ον	524 εσχατιη[ι	
508 πνειοντες] αχαιοι	525 τρωες ο[ρρινονται	
509 -κλινθεν] τος ελοιεν	526 αιαις δε κ[λονεει	
— ]χαις ελοιεντο	527 ευρυ γαρ [	10
510 νε]στορα διον	528 κειθ ιπ]πους	30
511 κυδος αχαι]ων	— κουροι τ	
512 παρ δε μα]χαων	531 ως αρα φωνησας	
513 μων]υχας ιππους	532 [μα]στι[γι λιγυρηι	
— ]νοιο	533 ρ[ιμ]φ εφ[ερον	15
514 -αξιος αλ]λων	534 σ[τ]ειβον[τες	35
515 φαρμα]κα πασσων	535 νερθεν[απας	
516 ιππο]τα νεστωρ	536 α[ς] αρ αφ ι[ππων	
517 παρ δ]ε μαχαων	537 αιτ α]π επ[ισσωτρων	

[13]

### III.

#### CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

##### (COMMENTARY.)

---

(1). This scrap is evidently from a *Florilegium*, or book of elegant extracts, as the two headings show. The Epicharmian fragment is one not hitherto known, and I am unable to restore more than the general sense—some advice or reflection on the miseries of life and their remedies. The metre is apparently trimeter iambic.

The passage from Euripides we have not as yet identified. But, apart from the contents, the very fact of the existence of a *Florilegium* at this period is a novelty in Greek Literature. Wilamowitz, reviewing the origin and spread of these collections (*Herakles*, i. 171), proves from the citations of Clemens Alex. that they must have existed in the 2nd century, A.D.; and he quotes the well-known article of Diels, *Rh. Mus.* xxx., pp. 172 *sqq.*, who ventures to place the original of all the copies or references we have in the 1st century B.C. Wilamowitz agrees with this conclusion, though it was made without any clear evidence from facts. Diels' argument is as follows :

Stobæus did not read and extract for himself, but copied from an earlier collection, for Theophilus, Bp. of Antioch, a Christian apologist, writing about 180 A.D., quotes a number of Stobæus' passages, with the same corrupted readings and mistakes of reference. Diels also thinks (1) that the headings (lemmata) were entered on the margin, because so many have disappeared; also (2) that the name of the work, as well as the author, was given (this he acutely infers from a blunder of Theophilus, *op. cit.* p. 179). Neither of these conjectures is supported by our fragment, whereas his next suggestion, that the sentences were arranged according to subjects, is here verified. He infers from Isocr. *ad Nicoclem*, 43; Plato, *Legg.* vii. 810, E, and Xen. *Mem.* i. 6, § 14, that there were early *educational* collections, but says that the first definite notice of such a thing is the *Garland* of Meleager (about 60 B.C.). Here now is a perfectly undeniable proof that such things existed before 200 B.C. The handwriting is indeed rather that of the 2nd Ptolemaic reign, than that of the 3rd (compare Plates XXI. and XXII.), so that the fragment is probably older than 250 B.C.

(2). The tragedy from which this passage has come to us is not among those extant. It is clearly about Agamemnon, Aulis, &c., and, therefore, concerned with the topics of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*. But it does not belong to that play. The form seems a dialogue between some speaker and a lady (Clytemnestra), concerning the danger of the delay at Aulis. The mutilated state of the lines, which precludes any restoration of the construction, makes the reading very difficult, but probably some rectifications will yet be made. In this hand  $\kappa$  is hardly distinguishable from  $\iota\varsigma$ ;  $\mu$ ,  $\eta$ , and  $\pi$  are, as usual, very similar in form.

(3). This seems to be a fragment from the *Hoŕai*, a catalogue of celebrated heroines attributed to Hesiod (for details cf. my *History of Greek Class. Literature*, i. pp. 125 *sq.*). Mr. Bury first called my attention to the phrase in the second line,  $\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\kappa\eta\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\iota}\ '\text{Α}\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta$ , which is quoted in a schol. on Homer, *Iliad*, B. 764, and in Flach's ed. of Hesiod, Frag. 100. If this be so, it is interesting to note that such a book survived among the old soldiers of the Fayoum. Many of our readings are, however, very doubtful.

(4). The handwriting of the previous fragment is very like that of the present one, which Mr. Bury was the first to identify as a passage from the *Iliad*. The occurrence of endings of

### III.

#### CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

##### (COMMENTARY.)

---

lines not in our texts made me at first doubt the fact. There are indeed preserved only the ends and beginnings of two successive columns, yet here is enough to show what a text of Homer was before Aristarchus, and what we have lost in this curious and, to us, unique copy. In a chance passage of 35 lines we now know that there were five rejected in the text of Aristarchus, a line beginning with *κοῦροι* displacing ll. 529, 530 of our texts. We also know that we are not dealing with the text of Zenodotus, for the line 515, which ends with *φάρμακα πάσσειν* in our texts, suspected by Aristophanes, and obelised by Aristarchus, was actually omitted in the earlier edition of Zenodotus (schol. *Il.* in *loc.* ἀθετεῖται κ.τ.λ. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης προηθέτει· Ζηνόδοτος δὲ οὐδὲ ἔγραψεν). Another peculiarity of that edition, noticed in the scholia, the reading (528) *κεῖθ' ἵππους* seems to be here, but the decisive letter *θ* is so effaced as to be very uncertain.



IV.  
CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.  
(TRANSCRIPTION.)

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(1).

]εν τα τοιν[	
]θων οιος εστι νυμφιωι	
]ημεις μεν ηδη το[ . . ]ορε	
]αλλα που ταχιστ ιδειν	
]ντιως εκεινωι δημεα	5
]ειας οτι δια τριων μολιν	
]τι και χασμωμενωι	
]τον στρατηγον νη δια	κα ευροβια ω δυστ
]εις αλλην εστι γαρ	
]ικον εις υπερβολην	10 . . . . .
]ναιος ουτος ραιδιως	. . . καλ
] ταυτα τοιγαρουν συ . μεν	. . . .
]τροκαι μεγιε . . s εχεις	
]νωμενη με . ουκ εχ	

(2).

]εν παθειν	παντ[	]νες γε
]πι <sup>υ</sup> οι φρενα	φαινοι[	]ων δεον[
φ ? .]ετος	ει γαρ φ[	]ω
]αντορες	χωρ	
] . ητησεων	συμα	
] . μοσ	ειτ	
]τελειν	εσμεγ	
] . οτε	μητετ . . και νων μετ	
]πεται	τρεφ	
]τιον		
]λε		
]εχειν		
]μεν		
]εγ . . εξ		
]εχων		
]μεθα		

## IV.

### CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS. (COMMENTARY.)

---

#### (1)

This fragment is from a new Comedy, probably from Menander, whose *Double Deceiver* contained a character called Demeas. The frequent use, however, of the name in the Roman *Comoedia palliata* makes it probable that other poets—Diphilus and Philemon or even Menander—used it in some other play. The metre is easily to be distinguished as iambic, but iambic with that peculiar license which the tragic poets denied themselves—I mean the ending of a word in a long syllable in the first part of the fifth foot, as in lines 5 and 11. We can see that it was a dialogue, continued in the next column, but there is not enough left to give us a clue. This uncertainty also affects the reading of the remaining words, but very possibly this riddle may yet be solved by a more fortunate student.

#### (2)

This too is the fragment of a play—whether tragedy or comedy must remain uncertain, but I incline to think it a tragedy. The whole of the second column has been literally expunged from its page by the action of insects eating the surface applied to it. Were it not for this calamity we should have a considerable passage left us, written in a hand of remarkable beauty and clearness. I have already, in the Introductory Memoir, noticed that the *σημ]άντορες* (or *κράντορες*?) of the fifth line stamps it as a play different from any of those extant, or with a different reading. There is nothing further to be said, unless our researches lead us to another scrap of the same play, of which both the papyrus and the writing are easily distinguishable from the contemporary hands, even at first sight.

There is in my possession another such scrap, though smaller in handwriting, which I have quoted in the Introductory Memoir as giving us the transition form of the  $\Omega$  into the  $\omega$ . In that here reproduced, however, both that change, and the passage of E into  $\mathfrak{E}$ , have been already accomplished. We cannot, therefore, place the date of this hand before the middle of the 3rd century B.C. In neither case do I feel sure that we have a fragment of a complete text before us, but rather some extract, which was written in a larger hand than that of the regular professional scribe.

# V.

## FRAGMENTS OF THE PHÆDO OF PLATO.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1a)

67E παρασκευαζονθ' εαυτον εν τ]ωι βιω  
 οτι εγγυτατω οντα τ]ου τε  
 θανατι ουτω ζ]η]ιν καπειτα ηκ  
 οντος αυτωι του]του αγανακτειν  
 ου γελοιον ; πως δ' ου ; ] τωι οντι αρα 5  
 εφη ω Σιμμια οι ο]ρθως φιλοσο  
 φουντες αποθν]ηισκειν μελ[ετωσι κ.τ.λ.

(1b)

68A απ]ηλλαχθαι συννοντο[ς αυτοις ; η ανθρω  
 πι]νων μεν παιδικα[ρ]ν και γυναικων  
 ]η παιδων ενεκα [αποθανοντων 10  
 π]ολλοι εκουντες [ηθελησαν εις  
 Αι]δου ελθειν υπο [ταυτης αγομενοι κ.τ.λ.

(3)

(68C) ονομαζουσιν σωφρ]οσυνην το περι  
 τ[ας επιθυμιας μη] επτοησθαι αλλα  
 ολι[γωρ]ως εχειν και [κ]οσμιως αρ ου του  
 το[ις] μονον προσηκει τοις μαλιστα του

68D σωματος ολιγωρουσ[ι]ν τε και εμ φιλο 5  
 σοφ[ι]α[ι ι]ωσιν : αναγκη : ει γαρ εθελεις  
 η δ ος εννοησαι την γε των αλλων αν  
 δρειαν [τε και σω]φροσυνην δοξει σοι

ειναι α[τοπος . πως δη ω Σωκρατ]ες [οισθα η]δ ος ο[τι  
 τομ[θ]αν[ατον ηγουντ]αι [παντες 10

οι α]λλοι των μεγαλων [κακων  
 ει]ν[αι]-ναι μαλα εφη [ουκουν  
 φοβω]ι μειϋονων κακων [υπομεν-  
 ου]σιν αυτων οι ανδ[ρειοι τομ θαν ?

ατο]ν οταν υπομειμω[σιν εστι 15  
 ταυτα] τωι δεδιεναι [α]ρ[α και δεει

ανδρειοι ει]σι παντες [πλην] οι φιλοσοφοι

68E καιτ]οι αλογον[γε δεει τινι

και δειλιαι αν]δρειον ει]ναι.

τι δε ο]ι κοσμι[οι αυτων ; ου 20

ταυτον τουτο πε]πονθασ[ιν·

ακολασια τινι σωφρον]ουσιν[ και

τοι φαμεν γε αδυνατον ειναι αλ]λ ομως

[18]

(2)

68B ] ουκ ασμενος εισιν αυ  
 τοσε οιεσθαι γε χ]ρη εαν τωι ον[τ]ι γε  
 ηι ω εταιρε φιλ]οσοφος σφοδρα γαρ αυτωι  
 ταυτα δοξει μη]θαμου αλλοθι  
 αλλ' η εκει κα]θαρωσ φρονησει εν 5

τευξεσθαι. ει δε τουτο ο]ντως εχει οπερ  
 αρτι ελεγον ου πο]λλη αλογια αν  
 ειη ει φοβοιτο] θανατον ο τοιουτος  
 πολλη μεντοι νη]δια η δ ος

ουκουν ικανον σοι]εφη τεκμηριον 10  
 τουτο ανδρος ον αν ιδη]ς αγανακτουντα

οτι ουκ αρ η]ν φιλοσοφος [αλλα  
 τις φιλοσω]ματος ο αυτο[ς

68C δε που ουτος τυ]γχανει φιλο 15  
 χρηματος και φ]ιλοτιμος ητοι

τα ετερα το]ντων η αμφοτερα  
 πανν εφη εχει] ουτως ως λεγεις

αρ ουν εφη ου] και η ονομα  
 ζομενη ανδρεια] τοις ουτω δια

κειμενοις μαλιστα] προσηκει 20  
 παντως δηπου εφη] — ουκουν και η

σωφροσυνη, ην και ο]ι πολλοι

(4)

(68E) αυτοις συμβαινει τουτο ομοι[ον  
 το παθος τοι επ αυτην την  
 ανδραποδωδη σωφροσυνην  
 φοβουμενοι γαρ στερηθηναι 5

ετερων ηδονων και επιθυμουν  
 τες εκεινων αλλων απεχοντ[αι 10

υπ εκεινω[ν] κρατουμενοι καιτ]οι  
 καλουσι γε [ακ]ολασιαν το υπ[ο

69A ηδονων α[ρχεσθ]αι συμβαινει 10  
 δ ουν αυτοι[ς κρατ]ου[με]ν[οις

υφ ηδον[ων κρατειν αλλων  
 ηδονω[ν τουτο δ ομοιον εστιν ωι νυν δη

ελεγετ[ο τωι τροπον τινα δια α  
 κολασια[ν αυτους σεσωφρονισθαι 15

εοικ[ε γαρ ω μακαριε Σιμμια  
 μη γα[ρ ουχ αυτη ηι η ορθη προς α

ρετη[ν αλλαγη ηδονας προς η  
 δονα[ς και λυπας προς λυπας

και φ]οβον προς φοβον κ.τ.λ.



## V.

### FRAGMENTS OF THE *PHÆDO* OF PLATO. (COMMENTARY.)

---

#### (1a)

3. MSS *κάπειθ'*. The papyrus disregards the second hiatus thus avoided.
4. D *τοῦτο*. Hirschig proposed *ἡκοντος αὐτοῦ*.
5. Schanz brackets *οὐ γελοῖον*.
7. B *ἀποθνήσκειν*. C D E *ἀποθνήσκει*.

#### (1b)

8. B C D *συνόντος*. E *ξυνόντος*. According to Meisterhans (*Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*, p. 181), *σύν* almost supplanted the old Attic *ξύν* after 410 B.C.
10. *καὶ υἱῶν* is in the texts, instead of this line.
11. MSS *πολλοὶ δὴ*.

#### (2)

1. B C agree with the papyrus in neglecting the hiatus, viz. *γε*. Omit. E. *γ'* (D).
4. MSS *μηδαμοῦ*. *οὐθείς* and *μηθείς* are found in inscriptions as early as 378 B.C.; they are universal after 330 B.C. (*cf.* Meisterh., *op. cit.*, p. 216).  
B *ἄλλοθι καθαρῶς ἐντεύξεσθαι φρονήσῃ ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκεῖ*. The same MS. adds, on the margin, *ἄλλοθι δυνατὸν εἶναι καθαρῶς*. We suggest that the original text was *δυνατὸν εἶναι καθαρῶς φρονήσῃ ἐντυχεῖν*. These words exactly fill up the gap in the papyrus.
7. *α* *πολλή*. D *πολλοί*. MSS *ἂν ἀλογία εἴη*, probably to avoid the hiatus between *α* and *α*.
10. MSS *ικανόν σοι τεκμήριον ἔφη*, avoiding the hiatus *σοι ἔφη*.
12. MSS open the line with *μέλλοντα ἀποθανεῖσθαι*. These words were probably a marginal gloss that crept into the text. There is no room for them in the papyrus.
14. MSS *τυγχάνει ὦν καί*.
20. E *προσίκει*.

#### (3)

5. B D *ὀλιγωροῦσι* (*ν* is erased). C E *ὀλιγωροῦσι*. MSS *ἐν*.
6. MSS *ἀνάγκη, ἔφη*. B C D *ἐθέλεις*. So Stobæus, Iamblichus. All editors read *ἐθέλήσεις*. The double stops marking a pause in the sense are remarkable, and are followed by the *paragraph* over the next line.
7. B C D *τε*. E *γε*.

# V.

## FRAGMENTS OF THE *PHÆDO* OF PLATO. (COMMENTARY.)

8. *d* ἀνδρείαν. B C D E ἀνδρίαν.
10. MSS ἡ δ' ὅς ἐστι τὸν θ. For the assimilation of the consonants as in line 5, cf. Dittenberger's *Sylloge*, 14, 9, τῶν λογιστῶν, and VI. 2, line 4; VII. 2, lines 6 and 9, and in the domestic documents, XII. line 14; XIV. line 5, and in many other places. But there are also many cases where this assimilation is not carried out.
11. B C D μεγάλων. So Stobæus, Iamblichus. E μεγίστων.
12. εἶναι is omitted in the MSS. Editors read κακῶν εἶναι. So Stobæus. *b* has on margin τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν εἶναι.
15. MSS ὑπομένωσι.  
B C D, καὶ μάλ'. E μάλα.
18. ἄλογον, B D, Stobæus, Iambl. ἄτοπον, E *c*, in margin *b*.
22. σωφρον]οῦσιν and ἀλλ' ὅμως were misplaced in laying down the fragments. They ought to be at the ends of the respective lines. MSS σώφρονές εἰσιν.
23. The papyrus seems to omit εἶναι.

(4)

1. MSS τούτω.
2. ὅμοιον εἶναι, E *b d*. τῷ περί, *b*, and this was probably the old reading, with ἐπί.
3. MSS εὐήθη, B C D. The reading of the papyrus (ἀνδραποδώδη for εὐήθη) is far more vigorous, and likely to be genuine. But how did the weaker version come to prevail?
4. MSS γὰρ ἐτέρων ἡδονῶν στέρηθῆναι.
9. MSS ὑπὸ τῶν. MSS ἀλλ' ὅμως συμβαίνει. B C D E ξυμβαίνει, *b*.
17. πρὸς ἀρετὴν is bracketed by Ast.

A gap of several pages separates this group of fragments from the next, which begin at 79c of our texts. We have, therefore, evidently before us the remains of a complete *Phædo*. Each column of 22 lines occupies about 14 of the Teubner text. About 122 columns, therefore, would suffice to complete the dialogue. We have remains of only 18, but some of them nearly complete.

# VI.

## FRAGMENTS OF THE *PHÆDO* OF PLATO. (TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1)

79C

ουχ] ορατον  
] ομοιοτερον  
τ]ωι αιδει το δε  
πα]σα αναγκη ω σωκρατες  
παλαι ε]λεγομ[εν  
] τωι σω[ματι κ. τ. λ.

(2)

80D ομως ως ε]πος ειπ[ειν αθανατα  
εστι η ουν]αι—η δε [ψυχη αρα το αιδες  
το εις τοι]ουτον ετερον τοπον  
οιχομεν]ον τογ γενναιον  
και καθαρ]ον και αιδη εις αιδου  
ως αληθως πα]ρα τον αγαθον θεον  
? ] ιδι αν θεος θελει  
αυτικα και τηι ε]μηι ψυχηι ιτεον  
αυτη δε δη η]μιν η τοιαυτη κ. τ. λ.

(3)

80E ατε μελετωσα αιει τουτο τοδε  
ουθεν αλλο εστιν η ορθως φιλοσοφουσα  
κ[α]ι τωι οντι τεθναναι μελετωσα  
ραιδιως η ου τουτ αν ειη μελετη  
81A θανατου—πανταπασι γε  
ουκουν ο]ντω μεν εχουσα εις  
το ομοιον αυτ]ηι [το] αιδες απε[ρχεται  
το θειον τε κα]ι αθανατον και  
φρονιμον οι α]φικομενηι υπαρχει  
αυτηι ευδαιμονι ειν]αι πλανης και ανοιας  
και φοβων και] αγριων ερωτων και των  
αλλων κακω]ν των ανθρωπινων  
απηλλαγμεν]ηι ωσπερ<sup>δε</sup> λεγεται  
κατα] των μεμνημενων  
ως αληθ]ως τον λοιπον χρονον  
μετ]α θεων διαγουσα ουτω φωμεν  
81B ω κεβης η αλ]λως—ουτω νη δια εφη  
ο κεβης.]—εαν δε γε οι μεμιασμενη  
και ακαθαρτος του σωματος  
απ[α]λλαττηται ατε τωι σωματι  
αιει συνουσα και τουτο θεραπευουσα  
και [ερωσα κ]αι γοητενομενη

(4)

(81B) υπο των επιθυμιων [και . ?  
ηδονων ωστε μηθεν [? δοκειν ειναι  
αληθες αλλο η το σω[ματοειδες  
ου αν τις αψαιτο [και ιδοι και πιοι  
και φαγοι και προ]ς τα αφροδισια  
χρησαιτο το δ[ε τοις ομμασι  
σκοτωδες και] νουητον δε  
και σοφiai αιρ[ετον τουτο δε ει-  
θισμενηι [μισει]ν τε και  
τρεμειν [και φευγειν ουτω δη  
81C εχ]ουσαν οιει ψυχην αυτην  
καθ αυτην [ειλικρινη απαλλα-  
ξεσθαι—ουδε [οπωστιουν  
αλλα διειλημ]μενην γε οιμαι  
υπο του σωμα[τοειδους ο αυτηι  
η ομιλια [τ]ε και συν[ουσια του  
σωματος] δια το αιει [ξυνειναι και  
δια την πολλην μ[ελετην  
ενεποιησεν συμ]φyton πανυ γε  
εμβριθες δε γε του[το οι  
εσθαι χρη ειναι και [βαρυ και  
γεωδες και ορατον]ο δη και εχουσα

(5)

(81C) η τοιαυτη ψυχη β[αρυνεται τε  
και ελκεται πα[λιν εις τον ορατον  
τοπον φοβωι τ[ου αιδους τε και  
αιδου ωσπερ λεγ]εται περι τα μνη-  
ματα τε και του[ς ταφους κυλινδου-  
81D μενη περι α δη [και ωφθη αττα  
ψυ]χων φαν[τασματα (σκιοειδη)  
? ω ταφ . . . . ασθενει [παρε  
χονται αι τοιανται ψυ]χαι ειδωλα  
αι μη καθαρωσ απολυθ[εισαι αλλα  
του ορατου μετεχουσα]ι διο και  
ορωνται—εικοτws γε[ω Σωκρατες —  
εικοτws]μεντοι ω κεβης [και ου τι γε  
τας των α]γαθων αυτ[ας ειναι αλλα  
τας των] φανλων κ.τ.λ.



## VI.

### FRAGMENTS OF THE *PHÆDO* OF PLATO. (COMMENTARY.)

---

(1)

3. MSS ἀειδεῖ.

The first fragment calls for no further comment. It is separated by a long gap from the succeeding portions we have recovered.

(2)

3. MSS τοιοῦτον τόπον ἕτερον, which is less euphonious than the reading of the papyrus.

4. The MSS omit τὸν before γενναῖον. The papyrus limits this better land to the one well-known future existence.

5. MSS ἀειδῆ. The substitution of ι for εἰ is common in inscriptions later than 100 B.C., but isolated examples are found earlier, *e.g.* CIA II, 243, 35 (before 300 B.C.) (cf. Meisterh., p. 38). As σωματοειδῆ occurs in the papyrus 83 c. 17, it may be that ἀειδής was assimilated to αἰδής, which occurs in Hes. *Scut. Herc.*, 477, in order to make the play on the words (ἀειδῆ—Αἶδον) more obvious.

6. MSS ἀγαθὸν καὶ φρόνιμον θεόν. See note on next line.

7. MSS οἱ ἂν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ. B has ἐθέλη, but ηι is due to an emendation. Our scribe probably copied from an old text in which ε and η were often confused.

In the papyrus there is room for καὶ φρόνιμον here. The letters read -ΙΑΙ may possibly be -ΙΑΙ, but what the word was we cannot tell. Q[ΙΔΗ]Ι (οἱ δῆ) may be the text, there being room for the second bar of the H, if it be lost.

(3)

1. MSS ἀεί. αἰεί and ἀεί are found in State psephisms down to 361 B.C. After that date the shorter form is universal (cf. Meisterh., p. 25). MSS τοῦτο—τοῦτο δέ.

2. MSS οὐδέν.

4. Hirschig bracketed ῥαδίως (so Schanz and Archer-Hind). οὐ is omitted in CD; d agrees with the papyrus.

7. MSS ἀειδές. C gives ἀηδές.

12. Ἀνθρωπείων is read in B; ἀνθρωπίνων in CDE.

13. MSS ηι, ὥσπερ δὲ λέγεται. In the papyrus δέ is superscribed.

16. BCD, τῶν θεῶν. E agrees with papyrus. Heindorf reads διαγούση (so Hirschig and Archer-Hind).

BCDE agree with papyrus.

18. All MSS read οἶμαι. The blunder in the papyrus is due to *parablepsy*.

21. MSS ξύνουσα.

22. E b γεγοητευμένη. BD γεγοητευομένη. C γοητευομένη.

[22]

## VI.

### FRAGMENTS OF THE *PHÆDO* OF PLATO.

(COMMENTARY.)

(4)

1. MSS ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπό τε τῶν. Vermehren bracketed ὑπό τε . . . ἡδονῶν (*Plat. Studien*, p. 24). There is room in the papyrus for ἐπιθυμιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡδονῶν.
2. MSS μηδέν. MSS ἄλλο δοκεῖν.
3. MSS ἀλλ' ἦ.
4. MSS οὗ τις ἄν, apparently to avoid hiatus.
8. MSS φιλοσοφία.
9. The ν of μισεῖν was visible when we first read the papyrus.
13. D ἀπαλλάξασθαι. MSS οὐδ', avoiding hiatus. It should be remarked that here, as is the case with other MSS in the collection, the obolus or paragraph-line (γραμμὴ παράγραφος), which marks a pause in the argument, is repeated over the beginning of the next line. In some of the cases where it is not to be found, the papyrus has been rubbed, and the line thus effaced.
14. B C D ἀλλὰ καὶ. E b Stobæus read ἀλλά.
16. C D συνουσία. E ξυνουσία.
19. MSS ἐνεποίησε ξύμφυτον. Massen (*Leipziger Studien*, iv. p. 1, ff.) has proved that ν ephel. was as common before consonants as before vowels (Meisterh., p. 89).
20. MSS δέ γε, ᾧ φίλε. There is room in the papyrus for τοῦτο, ᾧ φίλε, οἱ. κ. τ. λ.
22. ὁρατόν is either rubbed out or blurred, so as to be illegible.

(5)

7. MSS σκιοειδῆ φαντάσματα. There seems to be room in the papyrus for ασματα σκιοειδῆ after φαντ.
8. MSS οἷα παρέχονται, omitting ω ταφ.—ασθενει, which we have not been able to explain. The α in ασθενει is doubtful. τῶν οὐπω ταφέντων, as Mr. L. C. Purser suggests, would fill the gap.
12. MSS εἰκός.
14. MSS ταύτας.

## VII.

### FRAGMENTS OF THE *PHÆDO* OF PLATO. (TRANSCRIPTION.)

(2)

(1)

82 A

αδικίας τε και τ]υραν  
νιδας και αρπαγας προτε]τι  
μηκοτας εις τα των λυκω]ν τε  
και ιερακων και ικτινων γ]ενη  
η ποι αν αλλοσε φαμεν τας] τοι  
[αυτας ιεναι—αμελει εφη ο κε].  
βης εις τα τοιαυτα ουκου]ν  
[η δ ος δηλα δη και ταλλα]  
οι αν εκαστα ιοι κατα τας] αυτων  
[ομοιοτητας της μελετης δη]  
λον δη εφη πως δ ου ουκο]υν κ.τ.λ.

82 B ουτοι ευδαιμον[εστατοι οτι  
τουτο]υς εικος εις [τοιουτον παλιν  
αφικεσθαι πολ[ιτικον τε και ημερω?  
τερον γενος η [που μελιττων  
η σφηκων η μ[υρμηκων η και  
εις το αυτογ γ[ε παλιν το ανθρω-  
πινον γενος [και γιγνεσθαι εξ αυτων  
ανδρας μετρι[ους — εικος —  
εις δε γε θεωγ [γενος μη φιλοσο-  
φησαντι και [παντελως καθαρωι  
απιοντι ου θε[μις αφικνεισθαι αλλ  
η τωι φιλομα[θει. αλλα τουτων ενεκα  
Ω εταιρε συμ[μια] τε και κεβης  
οι ορθως φιλ[οσο]φοι απεχονται των  
κατα το σ[ωμα] επιθυμιων κ.τ.λ.

(3)

82 D

]ειπον[τες ου κατα ταυτα  
πορ]ευσονται α[υτοις ως ουκ ειδοσιν  
οπ]ηι ερχοντ[αι, αυτοι δε ηγουμενοι ου  
δε]ιν εναντια [τηι φιλοσοφι]αι  
πρ]αττειν και τηι εκ[ειν]ης  
λυ[σ]ει τε και τωι καθ[αρμωι] ταυτηι  
δη τρεπονται επομενοι ηι  
εκεινη υφηγειται — πως λεγεις  
εφη ω σωκρατες — εγω ερω γιγνω [σκουσι κ.τ.λ.

(4)

84 A πησ τινα] εναντιως ιστομ μ[ετα  
χειριζομε]νης αλλα γαληνην  
τουτων] παρασ[κευα]το]υσα  
επομεν]η τωι λογισμωι και αι  
εν τουτ]ωι ουσα το αληθες  
και θει]ον και αδο[ξ]α]στ[ον  
θεωμενη] και υπ εκειν[ου  
84 B τρεφομε]νη των τε οιε[ται δειν  
ο]υτω εως αν ιει κ[αι επειδ  
αν] τελευτησει [εις το συγγενες κ.τ.λ.



## VII.

### FRAGMENTS OF THE *PHÆDO* OF PLATO (COMMENTARY.)

(2)

2. MSS εἰκὸς ἐστίν.
3. MSS ἀφικνεῖσθαι.
4. MSS ἡμερον. The reading of the papyrus may have been ἡμερώτερον.
6. MSS ταῦτόν γε.
12. B C D ἀλλ' ἦ. Beck and Ruckert thought ἀλλ' ἦ τῷ φιλομαθεῖ a gloss; but the papyrus supports the correctness of the received text. Heindorf proposed ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ φιλομαθεῖ. Τούτων, κ. τ. λ. Wytttenbach: εἰς δέ γε θεῶν γένος μὴ οὐ θέμις ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἄλλῳ ἢ τῷ φιλομαθεῖ φιλοσοφῆσαντι καὶ παντελῶς καθαρῶς ἀπιόντι.
13. The capital Ω, apparently written over an ω, is noteworthy.
14. B C D φιλοσοφοῦντες. E φιλόσοφοι. E b c d ἀπέχονται. B C D ἔχονται.

(3)

2. MSS πορεύονται.
6. MSS omit τῷ.
7. MSS omit δῆ. MSS ἐκείνη ἐπόμενοι. MSS τρέπονται ἐκείνηι ἐπ.
8. D ἐκεῖνοι.
9. MSS πῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες; ἐγὼ ἐρῶ, ἔφη.

(4)

This Fragment comes after VIII.4, but it was not identified by us till it was pasted down among other scraps which we were unable to place, and we preferred not to remove it from this place. The Fragment (5) to the right, containing the word *ηρακλης*, came from a different case, and is written on lighter-coloured papyrus. I have placed it here to show another instance of the *literary* handwriting of the day.

1. MSS ιστόν.
2. E c μεταχειριζομένην (so Schanz). B C D -ης. Vermehren proposed -αις. Archer-Hind thinks -ην undoubtedly right.
5. MSS repeat the article before θεῖον and ἀδόξαστον.
7. MSS ζῆν.
8. B C D οὕτω δεῖν. E agrees with papyrus. MSS ζῆι.
9. MSS τελευτήσηι.

# VIII.

## FRAGMENTS OF THE PHÆDO OF PLATO.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1)

[2 lines missing]

- 82E δ[εδεμενην  
εν τῷ σωματι και προσκεκ]ολ  
λημενην αναγκα]ιομεν]ην  
δε ωσπερ δι' ειργμου δια το]υτου  
σκοπεισθαι τα οντα αλλα μη αυτ]ην 5  
δι αυτης και εν παση  
αμαθιαι κυλινδουμενην και] του  
ειργμου την δεινοτητα] κατι  
δουσα οτι δι επιθυμιας] εστιν  
ως αν μαλιστα] αυ[το]ς ο δεδε 10  
μενος συλλη]πτωρ ειη του  
83A δεδεσθαι — οπερ]ουν λεγω γιγνω  
σκουσιν οι φιλο]μαθεις οτι ουτω  
παραλαβουσα] η φιλοσοφια εχου  
σαν αυτων] τημ ψυχην ηρεμα 15  
παραμυθει]ται και λυειν επι  
χειρει ενδει]κνυμενη οτι  
απατης μ]εν μεστη [η δι]α των  
ομματων σκε]ψις απατης δε  
η δια των ω]των η των αλλων 20

(2)

- αισθη]σεων πειθουσα δε εκ τουτωμ  
μ]εν αναχωρειν οσομ μη αναγκη  
χρησ[θ]αι αυτην δ εις εαυτην συλ  
λεγεσθαι και αθροισθαι παρακε  
λευεσ[θ]αι πιστευειν δε μηδενι αλλωι 5  
83B η αυτ]η]ι οτι αν ν[ο]ησει αυτη καθ αυτην  
αυτ[ο] κα]θ αυτο τι των οντων οτι  
δ αν δ[ι] αλλ]ων σκοπηι εν αλλοις  
αλλο μ[η]θ]εν ηγεισθαι αληθες  
ειναι δ[ε] το μεν τοι[ουτο]ν αισθητον 10  
και ορατον ωι δε αυ[τη] π]ροσεχει νο  
ητον τε και αιδες ταυτει ου[ν] τη  
λυσει ο[ν]κ οι]ομενη δειν εναντι  
ουσθαι η του ως αληθως φιλοσοφου  
ψυχη ουτω απεχεται των ηδο 15  
ν[ων] τε και επιθυμιων και λυπων  
καθ οσον δυνατα[ι] λογ]ισομενη  
οτι επειδαν τις τι[σφ]οδρα ησθηι  
η λυπηθει η φοβηθει η [επιθυμη  
σηι ουθεν τοσουτογ κακ]ον] επ[α 20  
θεν απ αυτων ων τις οιηθειη αν  
83C οιον η νοσησας η τι αναλωσας

(3)

- 830 δ[ια τας επιθυμιας αλλ ο παντων]  
μ[εγιστον τε κακον και εσχατον εστι]ν  
το[υτο] πασχει και ου λογιζετα]ι αυτο  
τι [τουτο ω σω]κρατες εφ[η ο κεβης.  
οτ]ι ψυχη] παντ[ος] ανθρωπου αναγ 5  
κα]ι]ται αμα τε ησθηναι σφοδρα  
η λ[υ]πηθηναι επι τωι και ηγεισθαι  
π[ε]ρι ο]υ αμ μαλιστα τουτο πασχει  
μ[αλιστα] δε ειναι τουτ[ο] ουχ ουτως  
εχ[ο]ν ταυτα δ[ε] μ[αλιστα] ορατα η ου 10  
π[αν]ν γε . ουκουν εν[τ]ουτωι  
τω[ι] παθει μαλιστ]α καταδειται  
83D ψυχη υπο σωματος] πως δη  
οτι εκαστη ηδονη] και λυπη  
ωσπερ ηλον εχουσα π]ροσηλοι 15  
αυτην προς το σωμα] και προς  
περονα και ποιει σωμ]ατοειδη  
δοξα]ουσαν ταυτα] αληθη  
ειναι απερ αν το σωμ]α φηι εκ γαρ  
του ομοδοξειν τωι σωμ]ατι και τοις 20  
αντοις χαιρειν αναγκα]ζεται  
οιμαι ομοτροφος τε] και ομοτροπος

[26]

(4)

- γιγνεσ]θα[ι και οια καθαρωσ  
εις αιδου μ[η]δεποτε αφικεσθαι  
αλλα αιει αν[α]πλεα του σωματος  
εξιεναι ωστ[ε] ταχυ παλιν πιπτειν  
εις αλλο σωμ]α και ωσπερ σπειρο 5  
μενη εμφνεσθαι και εκ [τουτων  
83E αμοιρος ειναι της του θειου τ[ε]  
και καθарου και μονοειδους  
συνουσιας—αληθεστατα εφη  
λεγεις ο κεβης ω Σωκρατες 10  
τουτων τοιουνν ενεκα [οι δικαιως  
φιλομα]θεις κοσμιοι εισι και  
ανδρειοι [αλλα ? ουχ ων οι πολλοι  
84A η συ οiei—ου δητ]α εγωγε 15  
ου γ]α[ρ αλλ ουτω λογισαιτ αν  
ψυχη ανδρος φιλοσοφου κ[αι]  
ουκ] αν οιηθειη την μεν φιλοσ[οφ]ιαν  
χρ]ηναι αυτην λυειν λυουσ[ης]  
δοκεινης αυτη παραδιδουαι  
ταις ηδοναις και λυπαις αυτη[ν] 20  
παλιν αυ εγκαταδειν κ[αι] ανη  
νυτον εργον πραττειν [πηνελο

## VIII.

### FRAGMENTS OF THE *PHÆDO* OF PLATO (COMMENTARY.)

#### (1)

11. All MSS  $\tau\tilde{\omega}$  δεδέσθαι. Schanz accepts Heindorf's conjecture  $\tau\omicron\tilde{\omega}$ . This is the only emendation of modern scholars that is supported by the papyrus.
14. Hirschig placed ἔχουσιν after οὔτω, but the papyrus suggests that this emendation is wrong.

#### (2)

1. MSS  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$  : so  $\delta\sigma\omicron\nu$ , line 2.
2. MSS insert αὐτοῖς after ἀνάγκη.
3. MSS δὲ εἰς *c* has αὐτὴν ξυλ., but αὐτὴν is the reading of C D.
5. MSS παρακελευομένη. The proximity of ἀθροίζεσθαι seems to have caused the error in the text of the papyrus.
6. MSS ἀλλ' ἦ. MSS αὐτην αὐτη ? MSS νοήσῃ.
7. Three letters, partly effaced, are here after the  $\tau\iota$ , I think  $\tau\omega\nu$ . MSS omit  $\tau\iota$ .
9. MSS  $\delta\nu$  ἄλλο. Here and in line 14 we have specimens of the early  $\theta$ , thus  $\odot$ .
10. MSS αἴσθητόν τε.
11. MSS  $\delta$  δὲ αὐτὴ ὀρᾶ. We conjecture that the reading of the papyrus was προσέχει.
12. C ἀηδές. MSS ταύτη.
15. MSS οὔτως.
16. MSS insert καὶ φόβων after λυπῶν. Iamblichus' text agrees with the papyrus.
18. MSS omit  $\tau\iota$ .
19. Iamblichus' text again agrees with the papyrus. B C D omit ἦ λυπηθῇ. E *c* ἦ φοβηθῇ ἦ λυπηθῇ. *d* καὶ λυπηθῇ ἦ φοβηθῇ.
20. MSS οὐδέν.
21. B C D E agree with the papyrus. Schanz and Heindorf read  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi'$ . B C D  $\acute{\omega}\nu$  ἄν. E  $\delta\sigma\omicron\nu$ .
22. E omits  $\tau\iota$ .



## VIII.

### FRAGMENTS OF THE *PHÆDO* OF PLATO. (COMMENTARY.)

(3)

5. B C D ψυχή. E ἡ ψυχή.
7. MSS insert σφόδρα after λυπηθῆναι, not after ἡσθηται.
8. MSS δ ἄν. C E β πάσχη. B D πάσχει.
9. MSS τοῦτο ἐναργέστατόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἀληθέστατον. The papyrus here seems to follow a different tradition—μάλιστα δεῖν εἶναι τοῦτο, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχον? In the received text the sense is not clearly expressed, and the readings possibly corrupt.
10. Heindorf inserted τὰ before ὁρατά, but there is not space in the papyrus for more than -αλιστα between μ and ὁρατά.
13. There seems to have been a word more here than our MSS possess.
18. C reads ταῦτα after ἀληθῆ εἶναι.
22. β agrees with the papyrus, but the other MSS give ὁμότροπός τε καὶ ὁμότροφος.

(4)

1. MSS οἷα μηδέποτε εἰς Αἶδον καθαρῶς ἀφικέσθαι.
3. B C Ἄλλὰ. D E ἀλλ'. E agrees with the papyrus. The other MSS give τοῦ σώματος ἀναπλῆα, avoiding the hiatus.
11. There is no room for the ὦ κέβηc of the MSS.
13. MSS οὐχ ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ ἔνεκα φασίν. Hirschig brackets φασίν. Hermann once proposed to omit ἔνεκα φασίν, but afterwards suggested ἔνεκα φαίνονται.
16. C φιλοσόφου ἀνδρός. B D E agree with papyrus.
18. MSS ἐαυτήν. Hirschig proposed αὐτήν.
19. δοκ is a mistake for δεκ. Madvig bracketed παραδιδόναι.
20. MSS ἐαυτήν. In inscriptions of 403–300 B.C. ἐαυτ. : αὐτ. = 31 : 23, but between 300 and 30 B.C. ἐαυτ. : αὐτ. = 100 : 7 (Meisterh., p. 121).
22. Cf. VII. (4) for continuation of text.

## IX.

## CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1)	(2)	
αλλαλ . . τ[	]αντες	πες
η του . . ν[	]τριψαν	δεντωι
ραι και μη τηι τω[	]αρτους	πιτονται
ει μη ιδιαι τηι χρ[	]ονπαι	θεομ
5 <u>καυσιανοις</u> δε νομ[ιμον τους μεν	]ραιοι	νον
γινομενους θρηνειν[	]τινας	ω
δ . . . ου των τα[	]ιδεθ	.
ν[. . .]σιν ως πολλω[ν καματων ?	υ]περ τα	κα
αναπεπαυμεν[ων	]γενων	] νου
10 οι δ εισι προς τομ π[ολεμον	]τακλει	<u>ραντα</u>
δια την ετοιμο[τητα	]θειρουσιν	δεουπ
προς τον θανατο[ν	]μολις	ουτεν
<u>ενιοις</u> δε νομιμον τ[	]φειν δυ	τερον π
γυναικας π[	]ρωνται	κεφαλη
15 τοι δ . ληιστ[	]ντες	εκτος του
οι ανδρες δε	]σεις ερη	τοι μαχη
θωσιν λουο[	]ασιν ου	] εις τ
γυναικες ε[		] νη
χειρας επτ		δε
20 τας αισχ	(3)	ηι
σθαι γυμν[ας	ειχουσινομηκα	αι
<u>επιμελομ[</u>	σηκαν ουδ εαν ηι παμ	
τας κεφα[λας	θες ? χρυσιον και αργυριον ου	
υπερεχον[	δολως απτεσθαι των αλλω[ν	
	τριων ουθ . . υς δετο	

## IX.

### CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

#### (COMMENTARY.)

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The three fragments here represented seem to belong to the same tract, from the close similarity of the papyrus and the handwriting. The writing is in large and clear capitals, and an excellent specimen of the best kind of every-day writing at this period. We can tell from the size that these scraps were not part of a long treatise, written with the economical neatness of a professional scribe, but probably from a roll of extracts or quotations.

The texts are too mutilated to let us know more than the general fact, that the first piece was a description of the manners and customs of barbarous nations, such as were frequently composed by the Peripatetic school, in imitation of the *βαρβαρικά νόμιμα* of Aristotle. It was, no doubt, the first attempt at an anthropology founded upon induction from particulars. We also know that the second Ptolemy showed special interest in such inquiries, and sent exploring expeditions far into the Soudan. This may have made such accounts of savage customs fashionable, but I have not been able to discover who or where the Kausiani were, whose name is here quite clear. The particular custom here described is probably borrowed, not from observation of any special people, but from Herodotus v. 3, in his account of the Trausi, viz. *κατὰ δὲ τὸν γινόμενόν σφι καὶ ἀπογινόμενον ποιῶσι τοιάδε· τὸν μὲν γινόμενον περιζόμενοι οἱ προσήκοντες ὀλοφύρονται, ὅσα μιν δεῖ, ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο, ἀναπλῆσαι κακά, ἀνηγεόμενα τὰ ἀνθρωπήια πάντα πάθεα· τὸν δ' ἀπογινόμενον παίζοντές τε καὶ ἡδόμενοι γῇ κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὕσων κακῶν ἐξαπαλλαχθεῖς ἐστι ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ.*

The paragraphs in this MS are marked by curved paragraph lines, and also by the use of large and somewhat ornamental capitals, as may be seen in line 13.



επανωρθωσεν  
 επ ανδρειαν τοιουν τις καλλιον  
 . . s παρακλησεις καταλε[ξει]εν  
 τας μεγ γαρ αλλας εασω δεδι  
 ως μη τωι μηκει των λογων 5  
 ενοχλησω και του ποιητου πα  
 ρακαλουντος εγω και τους προς  
εχοντας αποτρεψω  
 μιας δε μονον μνησθησομαι της  
 ε[πι]φανεστατης τις γαρ 10  
 προτροπη μειων ευρεθειη  
 των περι Αχιλλεα πεποιημενων  
 ο]s γεγονως μεν εκ Πηλεως τε  
 και Θετιδος υπαρχουσης δε μοναρχιας  
 αυτωι Θετταλων μενος δε ? 15  
 . . ραχιε νικαν νεων δε ?  
 των ενδοξοτατων των πλειστων ?  
 αυτος σατο το]υνν αρχ

. ιη 20

ειμαρ  
μενης τοι συμπολεμων 25  
 ημ μεν ? ην ταληθη  
 προσην λεγειν οπερ θεος και προ  
 νοο[υσα τ]ο μελλον Αλλ ομως  
 μητρος και θεου παραινεσις ουκ  
 . . . . εν αυτον μη βοηθησαι 30  
 τεθεωτι Πατροκλωι  
 Αλλ]α τουτων πως αν ευρειν δυν  
 αιτο ιητ]ων διανοιας καλλιονας  
 τε και παρακ]λησεις μειονας επ αν  
 δρειαν εταιρειας 35

προνοιαν εχειν και τους μεν  
 πλειστους ιδοιτ αν ουδ <sup>η</sup>μ μετε  
 χωσι των προκειμενων αγαθων  
 ποιειν αξιουντας Αχιλλεως δε  
 και των υπαρχοντων αποστε 40  
 ρουμενος τους μεγιστους κινδυνους  
 υπεμεινε μονος δ<sup>ε</sup> τωμ πωποτε  
 γεγενημενων υπερ εταιρου τεθεωτος  
 αποθανειν τολμησας και νομισας δειν μη  
 πενθειν Πατροκλον αλλ αυτον συμ 45  
 πενθεισθαι μετ εκεινου και τας μεν  
 α[λλ]ας εταιρειας απασας ο θανατος  
 δια[λυει] ταυτην δε μειω και φανερω  
 τε[ραν ε]ποιησεν—χρη δε φιλειταιρον  
 ειν[αι νομι]τειν ου τομ πολλα τοις 50  
 φιλοις [ ] μεματευμενον  
 αλλ ος αν μ[ ]ην χαριν απολι[  
 μελλων [αιρ]ηται κινδυν[ευειν  
 οι μεγ γ[αρ  
 λεγουσι 55

πολλω  
 παρα δ  
 παν  
 τατ  
 πετ 60  
 οτι του  
 ηγεμονικων  
 των ιδιων οιν  
 και πολ[λοις σ]υμβαινει  
 εξεθη 65

κ

We have in this curious fragment the remains of an exhortative oration, *προτρεπτικός λόγος*, as the Greeks called it, which was a common form of the eloquence of display (*ἐπιδεικτικός*) as opposed to the forensic (*δικανικός*) eloquence, and was cultivated with great care ever since the days of the early Sophists, Gorgias and Prodicus. I have not been able to discover any allusion to the present speech, of which the subject is clear, and the illustration one of the most hackneyed in Greek literature—I mean the devotion of Achilles to his friend. It had been even treated with great warmth by Æschylus in an extant fragment of his *Myrmidons*, and was doubtless the theme of countless rhetorical displays.

The present fragment is clearly of a date posterior to the teaching of Isocrates, for the avoidance of hiatus, a law first insisted upon by him, is carefully observed. There is not a single instance, even of the forms of hiatus which he tolerated, in the passage. On the other hand, there is another feature in the style which by itself would point to an older epoch of prose writing—I mean the omission of *άν* before the optative in lines 3 and 11. It is now well recognised that in *older* prose this general law was not rigidly observed, and Gomperz even suspects that it has sometimes been inserted by later grammarians and critics where the author had not intended it.\* The occurrence of the construction in lines 32 and 37 seems to show that the author was merely indifferent about its use: that he was careless in his composition is hardly possible. For though I have not been able to discover any of those subtle laws which Blass has shown to be observed by Demosthenes and by Isocrates,† we cannot read the passage without feeling that it is composed with a studied attention to the rhythm and euphony of the clauses.

From a palæographical point of view, the fragment is also of importance, for it gives us a new variety in the formal hands of the Ptolemaic age. If we compare it with the *Antiope* or the *Phædo*, we might easily imagine ourselves in another century, but any such conclusion is most improbable. It was found, as I need hardly repeat, with documents dated prior to 220 B.C., and unless we adopt the hypothesis that the classical fragments may possibly be all younger than the dated ephemeral accounts used up along with them, the company in which the former were found will force us to make them at least as old as the latter. The palæographical aspects of the matter are, in the case of the other classical documents, in themselves absolutely conclusive in favour of my view. I should not have been so positive were this exhortation the only specimen of the literary hand of the day, because the writing of this treatise is in many respects quite peculiar. At first sight we might be disposed to put it later than the papers among which it was found; but when we come to examine particular letters, such as the Z, we find unmistakable signs of antiquity. But there is a tendency not hitherto known in very early hands, but which I can parallel in the cursive documents under my care, to adopt round forms instead of the usual square, by way of calligraphy. This, and the habit of putting short cross-bars above and below the uprights (a common device in modern printing), make the hand look peculiar. I have given part of the alphabet, for comparison's sake, at the close of the Introductory Memoir.

The ends of the lines belonging to the column on the left are too fragmentary to be worth transcribing.

\* Cf. his Essay on the Hippocratic tract in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy for 1890, pp. 121–2.

† Cf. his *Attische Beredsamkeit*, III., pp. 100, *sqq.*, on Demosthenes, and his recent tract *De numeris Isocrateis*: Kiel, 1891.

# XI.

WILL OF A HERACLEOTE, A CAVALRY OFFICER.  
(TRANSCRIPTION.)

κς

βασιλευντος ]πτολεμαιου του πτολ[εμαιου  
εφ ιερεως . . .] εους [τ]ου ευβαταλλ[ ?

φ . . . . ν . . .

κς εν θεογονιδ[ι του αρσινουτου

ηρακλεωτης

5

επιστατου (?)

ερ]μοπολιτου πρωτ ως Lμ[

ουλη μεσηι ρινι ειη μεμ μοι υγιαινωντι τα[εμαυτου διοικειν  
ως ε]γω θελω εαν δε τι ανθρωπινον παθω καταλειπω τ[α μοι υπαρχοντα

εγ] του βασιλικου και τον ιππον και τα οπλα πτολεμαιω[ι

10

υ και χρυσοπολεως επι[τροπον ?] δε καταλειπω δη[

. . . .]υρρου ηρακλεωτην της επ ?[. . . .]ς ως Lκη λ[ευ]κο [χρων  
μαρτυ]ρες αριστοδημος αχαιος των ταυρισκου ρϜ ως Lλ με[σος

ας τετανος ουλη υπο τριχα μετωπωι πτολεμαιος

των ερμοπολιτων ως Lν ευμεγεθης μελιχρως τετα[νοθριξ

15

μ]ακεδων των πατρωνος συνταγμα του αγηματος κλ[ηρουχος

με]λιχρως κακοπωγων ουλη επ οφρνος αριστερας νικα[ ]ος μ[ακεδων

]ειου πεντακοσιάρχος κληρουχος ως Lλ μεσος με[λιχρω]ς τ

]ος ουλη ανα μεσον οφρυων αριστοδημος αρκας ρϜ [του α]γη[ματος

ευμεγεθης μελιχρως ουλη υπο βλεφαρον αριστε[ρον] ευβο[

20

ιος του αγηματος ρϜ ως Lμ λευκοχρως τετα[νος . .] νιας τ[



## XI.

### WILL OF A HERACLEOTE, A CAVALRY OFFICER.

#### (COMMENTARY.)

It seems necessary to note that a separate fragment at the top of the fac-simile has been set to the right instead of the left top of the main fragment, an error made before the decipherment, but which is better explained and allowed to stand, than obviated by the dangerous remedy of loosening again the brittle papyrus from its present place and putting it in its proper position. The results which might possibly ensue have made me unwilling to take this step.

I have set this specimen of the recovered wills in the first place, not that it is typical in its formulæ—far from it—but because I feel tolerably certain that it ranks among the earliest of them. The date  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ , written above the document by the copyist, and repeated (l. 4) is unfortunately only the day of the month, if we judge from its position. I have (under the year 22 of Ptolemy III.) a similar entry of 17 at the head of the Will, and 17 in the text as the day of the month. Indeed, when we come to the 22nd year of the third Ptolemy, we usually find the month and day, and the name of the testator, in the heading, for the convenience of reference among a crowd of archives. But the ages of the settlers, here given, seem to me to preclude a date corresponding to the various wills from the 10th, 12th, and 22nd years of Ptolemy III., which will be given in the sequel. The *cleruchs* described as witnesses are men of middle age, not old men over sixty-five, as they invariably are in the other documents. No king and queen are cited as executors, as is usual in the later generation; but if I have supplied the gaps aright, a young relation, a man of 28, is appointed to that charge, and with a different formula, *καταλείπω ἐπίτροπον*, whereas the royal executors are always mentioned with the more respectful *αἰροῦμαι*.

Even the opening formula of the will has not yet assumed its stereotyped form, the *ὥς ἐγὼ θέλω* being in the later documents abandoned for the simpler *ἐμὲ τὰ ἐμαντοῦ διοικεῖν*. We have, however, another and later example of a varied formula in XX.

Theogonis was one of the Greek villages in the Arsinoite nome often mentioned in private documents.\* The testator is from Heraclea,† but apparently of high rank in the army, for his associates are partly, at least, Macedonians of the Guard. He enjoyed a pension, for *ἐγ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ* is shown by the documents published in Wilcken's *Aktenstücke* to mean the royal bank; he was a cavalry soldier, but his horse and arms were his own property, not the king's.‡ He bequeaths them to one Ptolemy, now an ordinary name among the Macedonians

\* In later centuries always *θεαγενης*: cf. Wessely, Index of Names, *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy, vol. 37, p. 105.

† Not from the Egyptian district of the name, in which case he would be *Ἡρακλεοπολίτης*.

‡ We may presume, from the mention (which I have recently found) of *ἵπποσκόποι* as State officials, that the *cleruchs* were bound to keep horses as a condition of their tenure. This is probable, but no more. The fragment only contains the following:—

]τοὺς ἵπποσκόπους

]ριοιδες . σ[

]ς κακῶς ἵπποτροφῶσι

]αφαιρουντες ἀπο τοῦ

]εμφανισαντες δημεῖαι. And on the next column *λειτουργίαν*

# XI.

WILL OF A HERACLEOTE, A CAVALRY OFFICER.

(COMMENTARY.)

in Egypt. I have supplied ἐπί[τροπον] in l. 11, because the accusative Ἡρακλεώτην cannot be translated in any other way, when we apply the analogy of the other wills. Whether ἐπιγόνης, which would fit the vacancy, should be supplied in the following line is to me very doubtful; the executor, indeed, is a generation younger than the testator and most of his witnesses; but we see some were already *cleruchs*, or landed proprietors, at the age of 30 (Lλ = ἔτων λ), a fact we could not infer from any of the later documents. We seem, therefore, to be present at the very opening of the history of the settlement, and, if we adopt the reading here, it remains to solve the problem: what does τῆς ἐπιγόνης mean, if members of it were present at the founding of the colony? The word is certainly used in contrast to κληροῦχος, and I think to ἐκατοντάρουρος, with neither of which it seems to be compatible.

I call attention further to the fact, that the old regiments of these soldiers are mentioned by the name of the commander (Patron, Tauriscus, &c.), the name of the corps (the ἄγμα, or the ἱππαρχία), and the men are often described by a curious *sigle*, or hieroglyph, as follows:—

ρϡ ϡ ϡ ϡ

These are the slightly varying forms of this ideograph, in which it is very likely that the initial sign means 100, but whether we should render it by ἐκατοντάρουρος or ἐκατόνταρχος (Mr. Bernard's suggestion), or by something quite different, I cannot say. It occurs in the following connexions:—

O, 7. III. (a Will of year 12, a fragment in my possession):—

Αρτε]μιδορος θραιξ ϡ  
συρακο?]σιος ,, των ανδρ[ονι[κου  
]μακεδων ,, [

And here:—

Αχαιος των Τ[αυ]ρισκου ϡ ως L[  
Αριστοδημος Αρκας ,, [  
του αγηματος ,, ως L[

Also in a Contract given on XVI. (2), apparently after a name in the dative case. These instances incline me to translate it by ἐκατόνταρχος = centurion. The following translation will give the general reader a clue to all the succeeding group:—

“[In the reign of] Ptolemy son of Ptolemy [Soter, year —, in the priesthood and Canephoria of such and such people] the 26th of month —, at Thegonis [in the district of Arsinoe—the following will was made by M the son of N] a native of Heraclea [of such a regiment, and

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#### (COMMENTARY.)

such a commander, a landholder, &c.], aged about 40 [fair, tall, &c.], with a scar on the middle of his nose. May it be my lot to enjoy good health, and manage my own affairs as I choose, but should I suffer the lot of men, I bequeath all my income from the Crown, and my horse, and my arms to Ptolemy [the Macedonian? of such a regiment, son of X] and of Chrysopolis. But I leave as executor De[mostratus, &c., &c., son of] Pyrrhus the Heracleote, aged 28, fair [tall, &c., &c.]. Witnesses (1) Aristodemus the Achæan, of Tauriscus' regiment ρΧ, aged about 30, of middle height [&c., &c.], with straight hair, a scar on the forehead under his hair; (2) Ptolemy [son of X, &c.], one of the Hermopolites, aged about 50, tall, of olive complexion, and straight hair; [(3) X, son of Y], a Macedonian of Patron's regiment of the guards, a landholder [of middle height, &c.], and olive complexion, a poor beard, a scar on his left eyebrow; (4) Nicander the Macedonian [of the guards, &c.], a captain of 500, landholder, about 30 years old, middle in height [&c., &c.], a scar between his eyebrows; (5) Aristodemus the Arcadian ρΧ of the guards, tall, olive, a scar under his left eyebrow; (6) Eub[ulus, the Macedonian, &c.], of the guards ρΧ, aged about 40, fair, straight-haired"—[about three words only lost].

Let the reader compare this with the general account given of the Wills in the Introductory Memoir, §§ 20, 21, and verify what I have said of the variations.

The fragment is much mutilated. But the greater part of most of the lines is preserved, and the general sense is quite determined by comparing it with other documents of the series.



## XII.

WILL OF PEISIAS THE LYCIAN.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

[Date and witnesses lost.]

διεθετο νοων και ]φρονων Πεισias Λυκιος των . . . . .  
 ]-ων εν τωι αρσινουιτη καταμεμετρη  
 μενων κληρω ?]ν μυλλος μεσος μεγεθει μακροπρο \  
 σωπος[ ]οισε[ ]ν ειη μεμ μοι υγαινοντα αυτον  
 τα εμαντου διοικε]ιν εαν [δε] τι ανθρωπινον πασχω καταλειπω 5  
 των υπαρχοντων] μοι τα [εν Α]λεξανδρειαι Πισικρατει τωι νιωι  
 την τ]ε συν[οικ]ιαν και τα υπαρχοντα μοι εκει  
 ]ει παι[δας] Διονυσιον και Ευτυχον Συρους  
 ]βισιλαν [κα]ι ταυτης θυγατερα Ειρηνην  
 καταλειπω] δε ιππ[ον] Λυκιδι τηι εμαντου γυναικι 10  
 ] την Συρ[αν.]ιβυσειον και την οικιαν την υπαρ  
 χουσαν μοι εν κω]μη Βουβαστωι του Αρσινουιτου την δε  
 κατασ]κευην την εν Βουβαστωι κοινηι Πισικρατει  
 ]δε Αξιοθεα προσενηνεγκται εμ φερνηι και  
 ]ν αυτην κ[α]ι μη μετειναι Πεισικρατει οσα 15  
 ]τετριμμεν[α] ηι αποδοτω Πισικρατης Αξιο  
 θεαι . . . . υ]πογεγραμμενας κωιαν ελασσον ετρισκωσυν ?  
 γυ]ναικειου και θεριστρου ⊢⊃ χιτωνος ανδρειου  
 ]αιου ⊢ι χι[τωνος ανδρ]ειου ⊢ι= ιωνη ?  
 θε]ριστρου καινου ⊢λβ απλοιδιου ⊢η ενσσι 20 θε  
 ]χαλκης ⊢δ ψυκτηρος χαλκου ⊢⊃ τ  
 ]υποδη[μ]ατ[α] γυναικ[εια] κ  
 ]διδεις τι λε ων μαλακο χρ  
 ]ενωιδια ⊢ιβ[ ]του ου και[ν]ου ⊢κ αριν

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### WILL OF PEISIAS THE LYCIAN.

(COMMENTARY.)

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I am inclined to date this document in the reign of the second Ptolemy. The heading is lost. We begin with the end of the formula "of sound mind and good understanding," which I have already mentioned in the Introductory Memoir. But the mutilated description of the testator was evidently so much fuller than is usual in the dated documents, that I cannot but attribute it to the days when the settlement was new, and he was set down as one of those who received a property from lands measured out (*τῶν καταμετρημένων*) to colonists in the Arsinoite nome, for so I supply, conjecturally, the missing words. The handwriting is quite peculiar, and that of a scribe different from any other whose handwriting we possess; it is an excellent introduction to the more difficult cursives, which are, as it were, derived from it. As the list of witnesses at the end is also gone, we cannot be certain that the testator was a soldier—it may have been stated in those opening lines of description which are so mutilated. The word *μυλλος*\* is very rare in extant Greek, and seems to mean *crooked* (Hesychius). The details which follow after the usual formulæ are in many respects interesting. The testator held property in Alexandria, which he bequeaths to his son, along with property in Bubastos, a village in the Arsinoite nome. To his son also he leaves various slaves—a sort of property seldom mentioned elsewhere in this series of wills. To his wife he leaves his horse, his house in Bubastos, and apparently a female slave; but the furniture, jointly to her and his son Pisicrates. Then follow clauses about the rights and the condition of Axiothea, a liberated slave, who had formed part of the dowry of the testator's wife. She is to possess certain things, and in good order, for Pisicrates is to make good any household articles which are broken.

So far we can hazard our general reconstruction. There follows a list of articles of dress and furniture—whether those that Axiothea was to receive or not we cannot tell. The very first article, a Coan—? (l. 17) is to me illegible, though the letters are distinct. It is probably some article of dress, like those that follow, the form *θέριστρον* (summer garment) being used twice, instead of the usual *θερίστριον*. The values added are not high, and perhaps represent the money to be paid to Axiothea for any article lost or spoilt. The sign  $\vdash$  means drachme; the highest valuation of any article is that of a new summer dress at 32 dr. ( $\lambda\beta$ ) to lowest 4 ( $\Delta$ ); we have, moreover, 12 ( $\iota\beta$ ), 10 and 2 obols ( $\text{I} = 6$  ( $\epsilon$ ), &c., represented. *ἐνώδιον* is the form found on inscriptions (cf. CIG, i. 233, 237) for the classical *ἐνώτιον*, *earring*. *Ἀπλοίδιον* is a new diminutive from *ἄπλοϊς*, an adj. used as a subst. for a single garment ever since Homer. Two very strange slave names occur to us (ll. 9, 11), Bisila and Ibuseios, the latter apparently a woman's name also. But we cannot be quite sure, as we have either name quite complete.

1. After *των* follow vestiges of six letters, which appear like *μοσ.σιτ*, we should expect the name of his commander, if he was a soldier, in this place (cf. witnesses 1 and 3 in the last will).
2. We have the termination of this, and of all the other lines of the column. But we have lost at the beginning of the first three lines about twenty-two letters, to judge from the example of lines 5 and 6, which we can restore with certainty. *αρσινοιτη* (for *-ωι*) is a mistake of the scribe.

\* Except as a proper name; cf. my *Greek Lit.*, I., 2, § 234.

## XII.

### WILL OF PEISIAS THE LYCIAN.

(COMMENTARY.)

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4. The opening letters must be the close of the personal description of the testator, hence should be easily conjectured—and yet I have failed to make sense of them.
7. The opening letters are doubtful.
8. The first letter is doubtful; the letters supplied to complete *παῖδας* are almost certain.
10. The bequest of a horse, and indeed of armour, occurs in XI., l. 10, but it seems odd here that the testator's wife should inherit it. I notice that in the Greek of these people, *ἐμός* seems to have disappeared (there is a possible exception in XIV. l. 13); cases of the personal pronoun, *ἐμαιοῦ*, supply its place.
12. The village Bubastos is frequently mentioned as situated in this name.
14. *προς-ενήνεγται* is the form established by inscriptions, instead of the classical *ἐνήνεκται*.
15. The scribe varies to *πεισικ.* for *πισικ.*
17. The word given as *ἔλλασσον* is very doubtful, and may be read *ελλεσον*, or something like it. The concluding word also I cannot read.
- 23 I cannot decipher.

The vestiges of another column on the right are visible opposite these later lines.

In this transcription I have noted proper names with initial capitals, but think it needless to do so in the future.



## XIII.

FRAGMENTS OF WILLS, 237 B. C.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1)

της φι]λαμμονος [μηνι  
 ως μεριδος του αρ[σινουτου ?  
 ρος ιλλυριος των συ  
 γλαυκος επιγρυ[πος  
 τα εμ] αυτου διοικειν ε[αν δε τι ανθ. 5  
 τα υπαρχ]οντα μοι παντ[α  
 π]υρρου μακεται  
 ι]λαρχης ευμεγε[θης  
 ]σος ως Lξ διο[γενης  
 λευκοχρως φακο[ς επι 10  
 ργαιος των ανα  
 των ? ... ενιτωος [...]να  
 ναιος των δαμ[ωνος

(2)

τω ξενοκλης προς νιν  
 δεδανεικα <sup>τιςιν</sup> εν' αλεξανδρει[αι  
<sup>αλλωι</sup> ου ουθενι ουθεν ας δε γεγρα  
 μαρτ]υρες διεμηδης αργειος ε  
 μ]εσος τωι μεγεθει λευκοχ[ρως 5  
 τος ελευσινιος ως Lμε  
 επ αριστερον κλειν  
 ? ς τωι επηγμ[ε]νωι  
 μεσος μεγ]εθει τετανος ουλη επι -  
 Lξ βραχυς τετανο[ς 10  
 της ε]πιγονης ως Lμ μεσο[ς  
 ουλη παρ οφρ]υν δεξιαν πυρρος . δυτ -  
 τετα]νος επιγρυπος ωτα με[ιζω  
  
 πτολεμαιου και αρσινωη[ς  
 ων αδελφων και θεων ευερ[γετων 15  
 κανηφορ[ου] αρσινωης φ[ι]λαδελφου  
 μηνος αρ]τεμισιου γ̄ εν κ[ροκοδιλων κ.τ.λ.  
 ταδε [διεθετο

(3)

του αρσ]ινοιτου  
 μενους πεντακοσιάρχος  
 σος ως L ειη μεμ μο[ι υγαινοντι κ.τ.λ.  
 εαν] δε τι πασχω ανθρω[πινον καταλειπω κ.τ.λ.  
 και οσα οφειλωσιν τινες [μοι 5  
 μαρτυρες δημοκλης  
 μελιχρως τον  
 ιος θραιξ των ιχλτιδ ?  
 εχων παρα το δεξιον [ους ?  
 χιλιαρχος ευμεγ[εθης 10  
 εχ της αρι  
 ος λοχαγ[ος] μεσος  
 κρατης

### XIII.

FRAGMENTS OF WILLS, 237 B.C.  
(COMMENTARY.)

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These fragments are so mutilated as to give us little information, save on two points. In the first place, enough of the date is preserved to tell us that they were written in either the 9th or the 10th year of Ptolemy III., when Menekrateia, daughter of Philammon, was Canephorus of Arsinoe Philadelphus. In the second they give us this dated specimen of a large and regular official hand in capitals, very unlike either the delicate capitals of the classical MSS or the rapid cursives of most of the private documents. To infer that this large and plain writing was earlier than our cursives would be to ignore plain facts. Some of the most illegible cursives, which Mr. Sayce has deciphered and given us in *Hermathena* xvii., are dated in the second Ptolemy's reign. I cannot find any reason to account for these great differences of hand beyond the varying skill of the officials employed to make copies from the originals.

■  
There are many difficulties left us by the mutilation of the texts.

#### (1)

l. 2 seems to be the local description—in some part of the nome, *μεριδος του αρσινουτου*. Wileken (*Observationes*, p. 12) has shown that, in later days, the nome had three divisions, called respectively after the names of their governors. Whether these existed at this earlier date I cannot tell, but the present phrase suggests that they did. The testator is an Illyrian by birth. l. 7 contains a form, *μακεται*, which I cannot understand. We should expect X, the son of Pyrrhus, the Macedonian; I cannot find any abbreviations, such as *μακ.*, which would explain it. The will evidently contained a brief general bequest to a single heir, for there is only room for a very few words before the list of witnesses begins.

#### (2)

There are two insertions of omitted words, besides *Διευμηδης* for *Διομ.*, which is clearly a mistake. The fragment begins at the close of the testator's dispositions. He too has money invested in Alexandria. The concluding formula, "nothing to nobody else," is followed by a clause of which I cannot guess the meaning; the appointment of executors ought to appear in this part of the text. Then follow the names and descriptions of six witnesses. Such personal descriptions were already known from extracts published by Leemans (*Pap. Leid.* I. Pap. M); and I understand that the practice still survives in native Indian legal proceedings. l. 8 has the words *τω επηγγμενω* [ ], which must be, I suppose, for *των επηγγμένων*. *Τῆς επιγόννης* occurs in l. 11, so that we naturally look for a contrast implied in the use of the two phrases. The occurrence of this expression, "those introduced, or 'superinduced'," without context, is exceedingly tantalizing. There is another text in my possession (Petrie Pap. O, 4, iv.), but

### XIII.

#### FRAGMENTS OF WILLS, 237 B. C. (COMMENTARY.)

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not autotyped, which I print for the sake of comparison. It is a little fragment describing witnesses in the usual handwriting of the wills of the year 12:—

ουλη]μεστωι μετωπωι και μυκ[τηρι	
τ]ων ουπω επηγμεν[ων	
~ λευκο]χρωσ τετανος ουλη ριν[ι	
]ν κιλλης αντιγονου μακ[εδων	
ι μελ]ιχρωσ τετανος αναφαλ[αντος	5
]ραιος της επιγονης ως L[	
]εις ουλη υπο γενειου σα[	
]επηγμενων εις δημ[ον	
στρογγ]υλοπροσωπος φακος επι ρ[ινι ?	
επι]γονης ως L με ευμεγ[εθης	10
]ς μετωπωι εγ δεξι[ων	

[I am at a loss to interpret one expression only in this fragment, and this is just what we want to understand. The reading of line 2 is difficult, but is supported by XXVII. (3), where the words *της επιγονης των ουπω επηγμενων* occur together—an unique combination in these papers. Again in l. 8 *επηγμενων* is plain; and we have even more—*των επηγμενων εις δημ[ον των*—a perfectly new formula. Killes is a curious Macedonian name, but is quite plain; I have searched in Boeckh's *Corpus* for it, and find it occurs once only, and as a soldier's name in Egypt (Apollonopolis); cf. CIG 4836, c (Addenda). But there was as yet no evidence that the name was Macedonian.]

There follows on the Autotype the opening of another will, which calls for no commentary.

None of these wills contain the appointment of the Crown as executors, though the testators and their witnesses were certainly veterans.

(3)

Calls for no additional comment. This testator had money out at interest, like the preceding.



# XIV.

WILL OF DEMETRIUS, THE SON OF DEINON, 237 B.C.  
(TRANSCRIPTION.)

οφ]ρυν δεξίαν  
μελιχρως ευμεγεθης τ

β]ασιλευοντος πτολεμαιου του πτολεμαιου και [αρσινοης θεων  
αδε]λφων Λι εφ ιερεως απολλωνιδου του μοσχιωνος [αλεξανδρου  
κ]αι θεων αδελφων και θεων ευεργετων κανηφορου [αρσινοης  
φιλα]δελφου μενεκρατειας της φιλαμμονος το βΛ μ]ηνος —  
ε]γ κροκοδιλων πολει του αρσινοιτου νοιτου ταδε δι[εθετο νοων και 5  
φρο]νων δημητριος δεινωνος χρηστηριος τωι επισ[τατηι ?  
ω]ς Λοε μελιχρους ευμεγεθης μακροτερος  
ουλη μετωπωι ]μεσωι ειη μεμ μοι υγιαινοντα [τα υπαρχοντα  
διοικειν εαν δε τι ] ανθρωπινον πασχω καταλιμπανω τα υπ[αρχοντα  
την ε]ν αλεξανδρειαι οικιαν εμοι υπαρχουσαν 10  
και] το[ν θω]ρακα ος εστι κ  
α την ζωνην θωρακι[του  
τη]ι εμηι ? γυναικι εξεστω ενοικειν  
ιχενχα . . . . ω τα δε λοιπα οσα ε[στι  
η οσα νυ . . . . [κτ]ησωμαι κατα[λειπω ? 15  
στ]αθμον . . ελ . . ειν εγ βασι[λικου  
]δε τομ παιδα μονε  
α]φιη[μ]ι ε[λ]ευθερον επιτροπους δε αι[ρουμαι βασι  
λεα πτολεμαιον το]ν εγ βασ[ιλ]εως πτολεμαιου και αρσινο[ης θεων αδελφων  
και βασιλίσσαν] βενικην τ[η]ν βασιλεως πτολεμαι[ου αδελφην και 20  
γυναικα και τα] τουτων τεκνα μαρτυρες κωπ  
κληρουχος ως Λν μελιχρους βραχ[υς  
φα]κος παρ ους αριστερον θεοδοτος συρα[κοσιος  
]μισθος κληρουχος ως Λο βραχ[υς μελ]ιχρους  
δεξιωι φακος υπερ οφρυν δεξια[ν 25  
διανος της επιγονης ως Λμ βρα[χυς  
σ]ατυριων χα . . μου αλεξανδρεως τ  
ν ημ . . σουνιες ως Λν λευκ[οχρως  
ερε . σος πτολεμαιος περση[ς  
πυρρ]ακης μεσος μεγεθει μηλα μεγ[ας 30  
]σοθεμις λυσιμαχευς των δαμων[ος

## XIV.

WILL OF DEMETRIUS, SON OF DEINON, 237 B.C.

(COMMENTARY.)

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This will may be compared with XII. in many details, but has features of its own, which are worthy of note. In the first place the date is so well preserved as to be unmistakable, and has already been commented on in the Introductory Memoir, § 20. We might also infer from the fact, that the Canephorus only is in her second year, the appointment of this official earlier in the year than of the priest of Alexander; but it is a mere oversight of the scribe, as I shall show in discussing the next document.

It is the will of Demetrius, the son of Deinon, made in 237 B.C. But what shall we say of his profession described (l. 6) as *χρηστηριος*? The word as a substantive is new to us, and is not likely to refer to any connexion with oracles. It rather means some kind of *business man*, but whether a regular money-lender, or some sort of paymaster and business man for his superior, the *ἐπιστάτης*, I will not venture to affirm, the restoration of the close of the line being uncertain. In the formula he uses the word *καταλιμπάνω*, which occurs elsewhere also in these documents. Like Peisias the Lycian, this man owns a house in Alexandria, which he leaves, with other property, to someone not his wife—probably his son—to whom he also bequeaths his armour. This point was discovered for me by Mr. L. C. Purser, who first read *θωρακα*, which I had failed to do, owing to the strange degeneration of the *ω* into a straight line along the upper level of the writing. As *θωρακιτης* only occurs elsewhere (in Polybius) as a substantive, I have supplied a substantival termination—"the girdle of a corslet-armed soldier." To his wife (whom he seems to call *εμηι*, cf. note on XII. l. 10) he reserves a right of living, probably, in his Arsinoite house (l. 13). The next lines are unfortunately too mutilated to tell us what he intended to do with a farmstead (*σταθμόν*) and his pension (*ἐγ βασιλικού*). He manumits a slave. Then follows the appointment of the king and queen (mis-written *Benike*) and their heirs as executors. Then *seven* witnesses are enumerated: some are *κληροῦχοι*, some *τῆς ἐπιγόνης*, and here we have the nearest approximation of age between these classes that I have found, viz. a *cleruch* of 50 (l. 22) and an *epigon* of 40. For the cleruchs of these years are usually over 65. The testator, who was, doubtless, a cleruch, seeing he retained a house in Alexandria, was 75 (l. 7). Among the variants occurring I notice *πασχω* (l. 9) for the more correct *παθω*, even if we allow the former to be a present subjunctive, and *μελιχρους*, which constantly alternates with *μελιχρως*. In two places (ll. 5, 14) there are erasures, but we can read what has been erased.

The remains of the last line of a previous will show at the top of the papyrus, and beneath it is an **I** with a line drawn over it, as is usual to denote figurès. But what can 7 mean here? I think the day of the month, as will appear from the heading of wills on XV. and XIX., where it corresponds with the day mentioned in the text. But in this case that spot in the will is gone. I have supplied *πυρρ[ακης]* in l. 30, because this word, known in the LXX., occurs in other similar descriptions. The vocabulary of the LXX., as A. Peyron saw long ago, is of the greatest help in recovering for us the language of Greek Egypt in the 3rd century B.C.

# XV.

WILL OF DION OF HERACLEA, 237 B.C.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

οῦς τετανοθριξ φακος ἐξ ἀριστερῶν μυκτηρι καλλιμαχος  
 χ]ιλιαρχος των ευρυμεδοντος κληρουχος ως Λλε μεσος μεν  
 υπ ο]φρυν ουλη υπο γενειωι κλεανδρος αμφιπολιτης ευμεγ[εθης -  
 ι κληρουχος ως Λνε βραχυς λευκοχρως ουλη -  
 (?) ωι περιτας μακεδων χιλιαρχος των νικανορος κλη[ρουχος 5  
 μεσος μεγεθει μελιχρους ουλη μετωπωι υπο τρι[χα -  
 ? . . . . .

λ

βασιλευοντ]ος πτολεμαιου του πτολεμαιου και αρσινοης θεων αδελ  
 φων Λι εφ]ιερεως απολλωνιδου του μοσχιω<sup>το βλ</sup>νος αλεξανδρου και θεων  
 αδελφων κ]αι θεων ευεργετων κανηφορου αρσινοης φιλαδελφου μεν  
 εκρατειας της] φ[ιλ]αμμονος το βλ μηνος αυδναιου λ εγ κροκοδιλων 10  
 πολει του ]αρσινοιτου ταδε διεθετο νοων και φρονων διων ηρακλε[ωτης .  
 μωνος πεντακοσιαρχος κληρουχος ως Λξε βραχυς . σε  
 ανα]φαλαντος στρογγυλοπροσωπος ουλη επι μηλου π[αρ] οφρυν .  
 και ουλη μετωπωι μεσωι και αλλη <sup>μετωπωι</sup> υπερ οφρυν δεξιαν ει -  
 η μεμ μοι υγ]ιαινοντα αυτον τα αυτου διοικειν εαν δε τι α[νθρω]πι 15  
 νον παθω ] να μεν υπαρχοντα α εχουσιν οι νιοι και η γυνη μου εξεστω  
 τα καταλιμπανω εις ταφην εμαυτου μελαινιδα δε  
 αυτης αμμωνιον τον εξ εμου γεγενημενον ου . . δεξ[ . . ]ρε  
 αφιημι ελ]ευθερους εαμ μοι παραμειν[ω]σιν εαν εγω ζωι πη  
 ντουστατω . . . αεσα και εστ[ω]σαν ελευθεροι καθα και εξ[ . . . ]ης 20  
 νι . εξεστω επια . . . ες αυτων παι εσειμ  
 ] αιρουμαι βα[σιλεα] πτολεμαιον τον [εγ πτολεμαιου  
 και αρσ]ινοης θεων αδελφων και βασιλισ[σαν βερενικην βασι  
 λεως πτολεμα]ιου αδελφην και γυναικα και [τα τουτων τεκνα



## XV.

### WILL OF DION OF HERACLEA, 237 B.C. (COMMENTARY.)

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These documents are specimens from the same year as the last, but in very different handwriting. As regards the date, I find the Canephorus marked as in her second year, whereas the priest of Alexander is not so marked. The will is dated the 30th of Audnaios, whereas on the subsequent Plate we have a will in the same handwriting, dated the 2nd day of the following month (Peritios), in which the  $\beta\text{L}$  is inserted after the priest's name. The question remains—Was the omission of this in the first case an oversight, or did the priest enter on his second year of office on the 1st of Peritios, in which case the scribe would naturally forget to specify the novelty in his copy, and insert it afterwards, just as we find it hard in the first week of January to write the current year? I am more inclined to consider it a mere blunder in the first case, for in XVII. (3) we have the same priest *in his second year*, and the Canephorus *not so marked*. This is the exact reverse of the present case, and therefore forbids us to draw a conclusion from it.

The upper part is the catalogue of witnesses concluding a will; we have (partially) the descriptions of 4; if the figure  $\lambda\epsilon$  (l. 2) be accurate, we have here a *cleruch* fully a generation younger than his comrades, nor do I understand this curious exception. The Macedonian name (l. 5) I have not been able satisfactorily to decipher.

The provisions of the second will (ll. 16 *sqq.*) are curious, and the loss of many words leave us many puzzles to interpret. The general sense seems to be: "The property now in the hands of my wife and (legitimate) children, let them retain. For the mourning at my funeral I leave provision, viz. ——. But as regards my son Ammonius (and his mother Melainis), I set them free, provided they stay with me as long as I live. I also set free others of my slaves, viz. ——. And I appoint as executors the reigning king and queen, and their successors."

The beginning of l. 20 and the whole of l. 21 are to me still unsolved problems. Whoever is able to conjecture the right words will easily verify them in the faint and broken vestiges which remain.

If Melainis be indeed a proper name, it points to a Nubian slave or mistress, which is very unusual, so far as we know of this society.

The testator of XVI. (1) seems to make the same kind of provision. He manumits his slave Semele and whatever children she has by him, provided they remain with him during his life.

# XVI.

WILL OF MENIPPUS, SON OF DEINIAS, 237 B.C.; A CONTRACT NOTE, 230 B.C.  
(TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1)

πρ]οσωπος ουλη μετωπωι μεσωι και αλ[λη υπο τριχα ?  
 ς θεοκλεους μακ[εδω]ν της επιγονης ως Λλ . μελιχρους ωτ -  
 τε]τανος ουλη μεσηι ρινι ευφρης ευφριος κ[υρ]ηναιος της επιγονης  
 μ]εγεθει μελιχρους τετανος συνοφρυς ησυχηι να . . ιλλος φιλ  
 ε]ξ αριστερων αρχεστρατος νεανδρου καρ της επιγονης ως Λκδ 5  
 μελιχρους τετανος μακροπροσωπος σπανοπωγων  
 περιτιου  $\overline{\beta}$   $\overline{\beta}$   
 βασιλεοντ]ος πτολεμαιου του πτολεμαιου και αρσινους θεων αδελ  
 φων Λι εφ ιερ]εως απολλωνιδου του μοσχωνος αλεξανδρου και θεων αδελ  
 φων και θεων ]ευεργετων κανηφορου αρσινους φιλαδελφου μενεκρατειας 10  
 της φιλαμμ]ονος το βΛ μηνος περιτιου  $\overline{\beta}$  εγ κροκοδειλων πολει του αρσι  
 νοιτου νομου] ταδε διεθετο νοων και φρονων μενιππος δεινιου των λιχα ιλαρ  
 χης ]πυρρακης ευμεγεθης μακροπροσωπος τετανος αναφαλαντος  
 ουλ]η μετωπωι εγ δεξιω[ν] υπ[ο] τριχα ειη μεν μοι υγαινοντι  
 αυτον τα εμαυ]του διοικειν εαν δε τι πασχω ανθρωπων καταλειπω σεμελην 15  
 ]τα οντα ς παιδια εαμ μοι παραμεινωσιν εως αν εγω Ιω ανεγ

(2)

βασιλεοντος πτολεμαιου του [  
 θεων αδελ]φων Λιζ εφ ιερεως[  
 ξανδικου  
 αρσινου]του νομου ομολογει θεογενης [  
 πανπολ ? εωτης ηλιοπολιτηι οικονομωι της αρσιν]οιτικης 5  
 νομαρχιας και . . παμουν εγφανητος αγγυνριωι τοπογραμ[ματει  
 τας ψν]- τα γεννηματα των υπαρχοντων μοι παραδεισων [τα  
 ξεσθαι εμφανεις αφ ων υ μεν και ξ]- το εν επ  
 ους . . . λογον διαγραφω το μεν ημυσυ εν τωι παννι ταδε κατ  
 εως επειφ του ιζΛ περι δε ων αντιλεγω αναφερομεν[ων εις εμε 10  
 οφειληματων κριθησομαι επ ασκληπιαδου και εαν μη απολυσωμαι  
 αλλα κατακριθι μου προσδιαγραφω εν τωι μεσορει μηνι εαν δε μη  
 διαγραφω [και] μη παρασχωμαι το λοιπον εμφανες αποτεισω  
 ημιολιον και η πραξις εστω ως προς βασιλικά

## XVI.

WILL OF MENIPPUS, SON OF DEINIAS, 237 B.C.; A CONTRACT NOTE, 230 B.C.  
(COMMENTARY.)

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(1)

We have here (ll. 7 *sq.*), in the same handwriting as XV. and on the same quality of papyrus, a will dating from the 2nd of Peritios, the month following Audnaïos (of which the 30th is the date of the will XV.). The present document must, therefore, have followed closely upon the other, and on the same sheet. Yet the conclusion (list of witnesses) of an intermediate will and only the opening of this one are preserved. Thus here, as in XV., most unfortunately, almost all the provisions, which are of primary interest to us, are lost. That concerning Semele I have noticed above, when speaking of the analogous provisions of the previous document. The last word in the upper part is very rare, *σπανοπώγων*, for which we once find *κακοπώγων*, which is equally rare.

The abbreviation *λιχ*, for the military division or regiment, here appears as *λιχα*, very plainly written, but I can give the reader no help to the meaning. At the conclusion the scribe was apparently repeating the previous *ἀν ἐγὼ ζῶ*, and then erased the four letters. The third word in the line is probably *παιδία*, viz. "the six children which I have," but if so, the *π* is so badly written as to be unrecognizable.

(2)

This is a fragment of a different character, but interesting, not only from the precise dating and very curious cursive hand, but also from its contents. It is one of a series of contracts made in the 17th year of the third Ptolemy, a year not elsewhere specified in these papers, but clear from its recurrence both in the text and at the head of the following entry, which is not included in the Autotype. The writing, though black and well-preserved, is very difficult to decipher, especially when we come to deal with proper names. On some of the details there still rests great obscurity, but the general sense is as follows:—"In the 17th year of Ptolemy III., Theogenes, the centurion (?), acknowledges to the steward of the Arsinoite nome and to the local secretary (Agyrrhinus?) his liability—760 drachmæ. I undertake to make a return of the produce of my parks to the amount of 460 drachmæ, and promise to pay the half in the month Payni, and up to the month Epeiph in the current year. But concerning the debts charged against me, which I dispute, I shall submit to the decision of Asklepiades, and if I be not acquitted, but the case be decided against me, I shall give an additional bond in the month Mesore, and if the whole be not paid then I will pay 50 per cent. over and above the money (as fine), and let the recovery of this be the summary process of recovering moneys due to the Crown." The three months specified were the three harvest months; hence all payments in kind were naturally then made. *γενήματα* is frequently used in business papyri for *produce*. I have supplied (ll. 7, 8) [*τά*] *ἔσθαι*, because *τάσσομαι* is the technical word for an official, and therefore registered, payment, as Wessely has observed; but the sense is not clear to me. The reader will notice *ἀποτείσω*, which is not a mistake (see Memoir, p. 32, note). *ἡμυσυ* (for *ἡμισυ*) is frequently found in later papyri.



## XVII.

FRAGMENTS OF WILLS.—WILL OF KALAS THE MACEDONIAN (2), 235 B.C.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1)

μελ  
δρου αλεξανδρευσ τ  
χ· χειον ως Λλ μεσος λευκ  
και] αλλη υπ οφθαλμον δεξιον  
ως Λμ μεσος μεγαθει μελ[ιχρως 5  
επιαμβος καμ[αρ]αναιου θ  
ιζιας λοβαιων [τ]ων προσφυ[γοντων  
αλεξανδρευσ των ουπω  
ως Λλε μελιχρως στρογγ[υλοπροσωπος  
φαιου κυρηναιος της επιγονης 10  
υποστραβαινιζων φακο[ς] επι

βασιλευντος πτολεμαιου [του πτολεμαιου και αρσινοης θεων αδελφων  
Λιβ εφ ιερεως ευκλεους τ[ου αλεξανδρου και θεων αδελφων  
και θεων ευεργετων καν[ηφορου αρσινοης φιλαδελφου στρατονικης  
της καλλιανακτος μην[ι εν κροκοδιλων πολει του 15  
αρσινοιτου ταδε διεθετο [νων και φρονων — —  
των ιδαιου συνταγμα κ[  
ουλη μετωπωι εξ αρισ[τερων  
φακος υπ οφθαλμον δεξ[ιον ειη μεμ μοι υγαινοντι τα εμαντου  
διοικειν εαν δε τι παθω [ανθρωπινον καταλειπω τα υπαρχοντα 20  
μοι παντα και τον σταθ[μον  
μεριδος τηι εμαντου γ[υναικι  
δε ουθενι ουθεν απολειπω [ μαρτυρες

(3)

(Six effaced lines describing witnesses.)

πτολεμαιου του π  
απολλωνιδου του μ  
ευερ]γετων το βΛ καν[ηφορου  
της] φιλαμμονος μην[ος 5  
ν]ομου ταδε διεθε[το νων 5  
των νεοπτολεμου[  
νias λευκοχρως πρ  
ωι δεξιαι ειη μεν μ[οι  
ανθρωπινον πασχω  
τωι υιω μου αλλω[ 10  
]εβας ουθενι ουθεν αφ[ιημι

(2)

βασιλευντος πτολεμαιου [του πτολεμαιου και αρσινοης θεων  
αδελφων Λιβ εφ ιερεως ευ[κλεους  
θεων αδελφων και θεων ευ[εργετων κανηφορου αρσινοης  
φιλαδελφου στρατονικη[ς της καλλιανακτος  
εγ κροκοδιλων πολει του [αρσινοιτου ταδε διεθετο νων και 5  
φρονων καλας μακεδων  
ως Λο βραχυσ λευκοχρω[ς  
ειη μεν μοι υγαινοντ[ι τα εμαντου αυτον διοικειν εαν δε τι  
παθ[ω] ανθρωπινον καταλει[πω  
και οσα εχω εγ βασιλικου [σ]ταθ 10  
μεριδος τ[ηι] εμαντ[ου] γυ[ναικι  
δημητραι τηι εξ εμου κα[ι . . . . αλλωι δε  
ουθενι]ουθεν καταλειπω επιτροπ[ους δε αιρουμαι βασιλεα πτολεμαιον  
τον εγ πτολεμαιον και αρσινοης [θεων αδελφων και βασιλισσαν βερενι  
κην βασιλεως πτολεμαι[ου αδελφην και γυναικα και τα τουτων 15  
τεκνα μαρτυρες ηρακλ  
γε[ι]λαρχης κληρουχος ω  
και ουλη παρ οφρυν αριστεραν  
εως ιλαρχης κληρουχος ως Λο

## XVII.

FRAGMENTS OF WILLS.—WILL OF KALAS THE MACEDONIAN (2), 235 B.C.

(COMMENTARY.)

Fragments (1) and (2) are in the same hand, and probably from adjoining portions of the same roll, written in the year 12 of Ptolemy III., when Eukles was priest of Alexander.

### (1)

The upper part is the list of witnesses (at least five) concluding a will, but contains great difficulties. The first word in l. 3 I cannot understand, and the accusative ending is quite unusual. It may possibly be the end of the same phrase as occurs in l. 8, when it would specify δῆμον. We should expect either a genitive (his father's name), or an adjective in the nominative. Lines 6 and 7 I have likewise failed to read, though there is enough remaining to suggest the right words. Line 8 evidently spoke of a class of *Alexandrians who had not yet*—attained what? A comparison of XIII. and XXVII. suggests ἐπηγμένων εἰς δῆμον—. After much perplexity I have read a very curious word in line 10, ὑποστραβαινίζων, which I take to mean *squinting slightly*, and possibly a mistake of the writer for ὑποστραβίζων. στραβαλός, indeed, seems to have had the meaning *curly* (cf. Hesychius' στραβαλοκόμας), but the word κλαστός is the usual expression in these papers for curly hair.

The second part of (1) gives us the date. It also mentions a colonel, or general of division, not elsewhere occurring, Idæus. The construction of σύνταγμα (l. 16) is probably ungrammatical—a *nomin. pendens*. The tenor of the will is, that the testator leaves all that he has, including the homestead upon his farm, to his wife, possibly as sole heiress, but of this we cannot be sure. The word μερίδος (l. 22) probably refers to the district or subdivision of the nome where his homestead lay.

Both this and the succeeding text belong to a large group of fragments in the same very cursive hand, and on very coarse, dark-brown papyrus. Moreover, the writing lying over them has both adhered to the surface, and taken off letters here and there, so that the reading of this group is very difficult. The fac-simile is a very adequate representation of the original.

### (2)

The will of Kalas the Macedonian. After the usual formulæ, which present no difficulty, we find (ll. 10-11) a parallel passage to ll. 21-22 of the previous document. The testator bequeaths his property to his wife, mentioning his receipts *from the royal chest*, and his farmhouse, for so I translate σταθμόν. We here again find the word μερίδος following, which points to a formula, in which the locality of the farm was specified by the district of the nome in which it was situated: see the Commentary on XIII.

The testator makes the Sovran his executor.

### (3)

A fragment from the year 10, and therefore two years older than the foregoing pieces, but in a very different hand—larger, but perhaps more cursive and untidy. The decipherment affords no difficulty, save in the last line, in which the first letters are hard to understand. The effaced lines at the top of the fragment were not worth transcribing, as only isolated letters are now apparent. As above mentioned, the dating here gives the priest in his second year, and the Canephorus apparently in her first (see XV., Commentary). It is probably the result of mere carelessness. The reader can fill in the formulæ easily by comparison with the other fragments on the page.

# XVIII.

FRAGMENTS OF THREE WILLS—THE LAST (2), 237 B.C.  
(TRANSCRIPTION.)

(Left Column.)

(1)

(Right Column.)

(1). τ]ον πτολεμαίου και αρσινόης θεων  
δεκα]τον εφ ιερε[ω]ς τ[αλεστ?]ου του  
θεων αδελφων] και θεων ευερ]γετων  
βερενίκης της πτολε[μαίου  
πολει του αρσινόη[του] νομου ταδε 5  
οιταιος των λιχ πεντακοσιαρχος  
~ αναφαλακρος καταρριν ουλην εχων  
ειη μεμ μο]ι υγιαίνουντι τα εμαυτου οικονομειν  
κα]ταλειπω τα υπάρχοντα μου παντα  
υ εν ταις καμινίς του αρσινόητου 10  
και τα συμβολαία τη εμαυτου γυναι[κι  
δε τι  
εαν αξίλα ανθρωπινον παθη εστω  
ιών υπομονοκοσμελαστής θυγατρος μου

αρσινόης φι[λαδέλφου  
εννεακαιδε[κατωι  
αρσινόητου νομου  
μακεδ[ων  
ιππαρχίας  
μετα λοφον  
αυτον τα [εμ?]   
τον κληρον  
εφισ . .  
της γυν[αικος  
επαρ  
ρονεπ  
ξενυσηστία επιτροπους δε αιρουμα  
βασίλεα πτολ[εμαίου  
αδελφών και [

(2)

γορπιαίου κ̄γ

βασίλεοντος πτολεμαίου του πτολεμ[αίου και αρσινόης  
θεων αδελφών L εφ ιερεως απολλωνιδου [του μοσχίωνος  
το βL αλεξάνδρου και θεων αδελφών και θεων [ευεργετων  
κανηφορου αρσινόης φιλαδέλφου μενεκρατειας της φιλαμ 5  
μονος το βL μηνος γορπιαίου κ̄γ εγ κροκοδ[ίλων πολει  
του αρσινόητου ταδε διεθετο υ[ρων και φρονων  
δης βοιωτίας των πυθαγγελο[υ ] . . .  
ως Lξ μελιχρους βραχυσ ουλη επι ρι[νι  
... φαλακρος ειη μεμ μοι υγιαίνου[τι τα εμαυτου 10  
αυτ]ον διοικειν εαν δε τι ανθρωπινον πασχω [κατα  
λειπω τα] υπάρχοντα τωι . . . . . αριστ  
ουγαστη αλλωι δε ουθεν[ι] ουθεν κ[αταλειπω

[The last line is illegible.]



## XVIII.

FRAGMENTS OF THREE WILLS—THE LAST (2), 237 B.C.

(COMMENTARY.)

(1)

Both the handwriting, which is distinctively cursive, and the style of this will are remarkable. The date is unfortunately torn away, except the final *τωι*, which points to *δεκατωι*, but the number of letters missing is so large, that we require a longer number. In this, as in the wills of the year 22, the figures are written out in full. We can therefore supply the opening with certainty as follows:—

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τ]οῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν  
Ἀδελφῶν ζτους . . . . . δεκα]του.

There are seven letters to be supplied in the number, which is therefore probably *τρισκαιδεκατου*, on the analogy of the right column, which uses the form *εννεα και δεκατωι* for 19.

The priest's name is torn away, all but the initial *τ* and the final *υ*—*Ταλειστων* is possible (which would give us the 21st year of Ptolemy III.). We have a Berenice as Canephorus, who is not she of the year 22, for the father's name is certainly not Kallianax, but probably Ptolemy. In ll. 5 and 9 we meet for the first time in these papers the debased, though early forms of *π* and *μ*, formed like *Δ*, and identical, and the word *νομου* is added, which is not usual in mentioning the Arsinoite district. The testator appears to be an Oetean (from Mt. Oeta, in Loeris ?); his regiment is noted by *λιχ*, with a line of abbreviation, */*. It is therefore one of the rare occurrences of contraction in the present time.

We have met with this formula in XVI., l. 21. In l. 7 the form *ἀναφάλακρος* is unusual, for the LXX. *ἀναφάλαντος* occurs in almost every list of witnesses. So also *καταρριν ουλην εχων* for the usual *ουλη καταρριν*. The form *ριν* for the accusative is found in several of the descriptions in Leemans' papyri. Line 8 gives *οικονομεῖν* for the ordinary *διοικεῖν*—all such minor variations being evidences, as stated in the Introductory Memoir, p. 37, that the wills were the composition of private individuals, and not of the officials who registered them, or of office clerks, who would surely have used a stereotyped formula. *Αἱ κάμιννοι* (l. 10) occurs again both in the Petrie and in the Rainer papyri as the name of a village in the district, in which probably potteries and their furnaces were predominant. *Συμβόλαια* (l. 11) are probably bonds which the testator held as security for money lent, and these he bequeaths, as part of his property, to his wife. Her name was apparently Axila, and in the event of her death some provision was made for the testator's daughter. But the earlier part of l. 13 is to me unintelligible, though all but the last two letters (preceding *τῆς θυγατρὸς μου*) are tolerably plain. I suggest that the previous line proceeded *ἔστω κύριος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μου* [ *]ιων*, who represented in some way his daughter; but whether *υπομονκος* can be a word, or how the letters of this line are to be divided, I cannot tell. What a number of problems raised by an apparently insignificant fragment!

## XVIII.

FRAGMENTS OF THREE WILLS—THE LAST (2), 237 B.C.

(COMMENTARY.)

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Of the right column but little remains, yet enough to show us the writing out of the numbers in full—the 19th day of the month; also that the testator was a Macedonian, and that in this case his landed property (κληρος) came into the bequest. The king and queen were appointed executors.

(2)

The lower fragment is remarkable for its elegant, but difficult cursive, which affects long-drawn letters, with the upper horizontal line of the writing as marked as in the lower line in modern writing. The date (237 B.C.) is preserved, but not so the name of the Boeotian testator, a soldier of the Division of Pythangelos. He leaves all his property to a single heir—but the details are illegible. The letters in l. 13 are curious, ονγαστηι or οπαστηι is tolerably plain, and is certainly not θυγατρι, as every emendator would suggest. It is apparently a description of the heir, “——, son of Arist——, the ——αστης.”

# XIX.

A FRAGMENT.—WILL OF APHRODISIOS OF HERACLEA, 225 B.C.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

[επιτροπους δε αιρουμαι βασ. Πτ. τον ευ βασ. Πτ. και]  
 αρσινο]ης θεων αδελφων και βασιλ[ισ]σαν βερενικην την [βασι]λεως [πτολεμαιου  
 αδελφη]ν και γυναικα και τα τουτων τεκνα μαρτυρες ιασω[ν] ιασωνος των εκτ[ . . . ]  
 υρω ιων της τεταρτης ιππαρχιας εκατονταρους ως ετων πεντηκονταπ[εντε  
 λευ]κοχρως αναφαλανθος ουλη μετωπωι εγ δεξιων ασκληπιωδωρος διονυσ[ιου —  
 της επιγονης ως ετων τριακοντα ευμεγεθης μελιχρως αναφαλανθος ησυχχι 5  
 σιαγονα δεξιαν απολλωνι[δης ηρακ]λεωτης [της] επιγονης ως ετων τεσσα[ρακοντα  
 — μεσος με]γεθει μελιχρως κλαστ[ος αναφαλα]νθος [ουλη] μεσowi μετωπωι και αλλη  
 νος μακεδων τ[ ] ως ετων εξηκοντα ευμεγεθης —  
 ος ανα[φα]λακρος ουλη μετωπωι ε[ ] αλλη υπο μυκτηρα αριστερον  
 (?) δι]καιαρχου φιλαδελφειος των ιπποκρατο[υς της] τριτης ιππαρχιας εκατονταρους 10  
 — ως L] εξηκοντα ευμεγεθης μελιχρως[ οξυ]ρριν ουλη γενειωι εγ δεξιων  
 ρι]νι εξ αριστερων διονυσωδωρος[ ] ανδρομαχειος των αρισταρχου  
 κτομισθος κληρουχος ως ετων[  
 ο]υλη ευσημος μετωπωι μεσ[ωι  
 ξανδικον ᾱ αφροδισιος α[ξιοθεαι (?) 15  
 βασιλευ]οντος πτολεμαιου του π[τολεμαι]ου και αρσινοης θεων  
 αδελφων ετους] δευτερου και ε[ι]κοστου [ε]φ[ι]ε]ρ[εως . . . κρα]τους  
 του θεο]γενους αλ[εξ]ανδρου και θεων αδελφων και θεων [ευεργ]ετων  
 κανηφορου αρ]σινοης φιλαδελφου βερενικης της καλλιαν[ακτος  
 ξ]ανδικου νουμηνιαι εγ κροκοδιλω[ν πολει του αρσινοι 20  
 του] ταδε διεθετο νοων και φρονων αφροδισιος ηρακλειω[της  
 ]ιος παρεπιδημος ως ετων ογδοιηκοντα βραχυς —  
 επιγρυπος χαροπος κλαστοθριξ αναφαλανθος ωτα  
 μενος ειη μεμ μοι υγαινοντα αυτον τα εμαυτου  
 διοικ]ειν εαν δε τι παθω ανθρωπινον καταλειπω τα υπαρχοντα μου 25  
 παντ]α αξιοθεαι διζουλου θραισσηι αλλωι δε ουθενι ουθεν καταλιπω  
 επιτροπο]υς δε αιρουμαι βασιλεα πτολεμαιου τον εγ βασιλεως  
 πτολεμαι]ου και αρσινοης θεω[ν αδελ]φω[ν] και βασιλισσαν βερενικην  
 βασι]λεως πτολεμαιου αδελφην και γυναικα και τα τουτων  
 τεκνα] μαρτυρες παρις θεοφιλου θεσσαλος της επιγονης ως ετων — 30  
 τριακ?]οντα μεσος μεγεθει μελιχρως μακροπροσωπος τετανοθριξ  
 ουλη με]τωπωι μεσowi και φακος παρ οφθαλμον δεξιον γετας —  
 κωιος της επιγονης ως ετων τριακοντα μεσος μεγεθει  
 μελιχρ]ως στρογγυλοπροσωπος ενσιμος συνοφρυν ουλη εφ εκατερας ~  
 νειλων σωταιρου λιβυς της επιγονης ως ετων τρια 35  
 κοντα β]ραχυς μελιχρως στρογγυλοπροσωπος τετανοθριξ ουλη —  
 ανα με]σον οφρυνων δημητριος δημητριου ισθμειν ως ετων  
 πεντ]ηκοντα ευμεγεθης μελιχρως αναφαλακρος επιγρυπος ~  
 [54]



## XIX.

A FRAGMENT.—WILL OF APHRODISIOS OF HERACLEA, 225 B.C

(COMMENTARY.)

This large group of fragments, fitted together after attempts reaching over many months, may be called the most successful piece of work in the volume. It represents almost a whole column in the splendid writing of the scribe of the year 22 of Ptolemy III., who far surpasses his fellow-clerks as a calligrapher. The peculiarities of his alphabet are, I think, confined to the Υ which is sometimes written almost exactly like our V. The smaller writing of the upper portion is, I think, by the same hand, though it contains (l. 10) an ω which is almost a straight line, like that in XIV. The scribe evidently makes a special heading for the first day of the month Xandikos, and then adds the names of the testator and principal heir. I have another fragment of the same roll, with the heading ἱς ηρακλ[ ], which seems to point to the 17th of the same month, and a similar mention of the testator. In XXI. we have, on the contrary, the name of the heiress at the end of the mutilated heading. These facts make the inference almost certain.

The upper part of the column is the conclusion of a will, with the appointment of the king, &c., as executor, and the description of six witnesses. Several of them are *hundred-acre men*, which I took to mean the same thing as *cleruch*, but if so, why is this latter word used in l. 13? and the remnant of the previous word is one quite unmatched in these papers; its place is generally that in which the military rank of the witness is stated. The *well-marked* (εὖσημος) scar on his forehead is further noted.

Probably this document dates from the month *Dystros*, for at its conclusion there follows, in large characters, *First of Xandikos, Aphrodisios to A[xiothea]*. There is no doubt about the date, though the papyrus is here lacerated, and we can supply the name of the priest from other documents. In the description of the testator we find another new class, *παρεπίδημος*, a *sojourner*, so that even such persons had a right to bequeath their property. The nature of his will is also curious. This man of eighty leaves all that he has exclusively to Axiothea, daughter of Dizoulos, the Thracian. She was evidently not his wife or daughter, or a relative, as that is always specified in these bequests: but what her relations were to Aphrodisios we can only conjecture. The name appears in the provisions on XI., and the person there mentioned was evidently a freed woman, who had obtained considerable influence over her master. But we have no other argument than the coincidence of name in favour of the identity, unless it be, that such a woman having been left a competency, spent her time in prosecuting the same profession of 'undue influence' with another man, when her old master was dead. Nevertheless the royal family are here also appointed executors, which shows that the will was a correct document.

The four witnesses, whose description fills the rest of the column, are all *τῆς ἐπιγόνης*, upon which term I have already commented. There can be little doubt that the remaining two were described at the top of the next column. The writer seems to have had no fancy for finishing a document at the foot of a column, and he leaves an ample margin. The upper will is, however, in lines so much longer as to interfere with the space for the right column. This it was which hindered me a long time from bringing the pieces together. The text of the upper will fits together, however, exactly. I notice that *ἀναβάλακρος* appears here,

## XIX.

A FRAGMENT.—WILL OF APHRODISIOS OF HERACLEA, 225 B.C.

(COMMENTARY.)

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and in one or two other cases, for the more usual ἀναφάλανθος. Getas, and Neilon son of Sotairus, are both strange names, the former being reserved in the New Comedy for slaves. This was the first document in which (with Mr. Starkie's help) I deciphered (l. 8) κλαστόθριζ, on which I have commented in the Introductory Memoir. δξύρριν, *sharp-nosed*, is a form occurring in the Leyden Papyri, and in the Hippocratic writings. So is ἡσυχῆ, used adverbially for *slightly*. In l. 26 he writes -λεπω for -λειπω.

I revert, before concluding my remarks on this document, to a point of interest about the date. Only the four final letters of the name of the priest of Alexander are preserved, but the space seems to admit some such name as Eukrates. The name of his father is preserved sufficiently to tell us that it was Theogenes (of which the form usually known in our later MSS is Theagenes). M. Revillout, however, has determined from demotic documents that the priest of the year 22 was called Alexicrates, and this name actually appears in a document reproduced as XXVIII. (1). There, however, the name of the father, which is very badly written, can hardly be Theogenes; and this coupled with the fact that the gap where the priest's name occurs in the present fragment is hardly large enough to hold Alexicrates, but rather [Eu]crates or [So]crates, makes me hesitate whether we have not here again two separate priests of Alexander during the same year of the king's reign.

## XX.

FRAGMENTS OF WILLS, 225 B.C.  
(TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1)

υπαρχο]ντα μου παντ[α  
 ουθενι ουθεν κα]ταλειπω επιτροπους δε αιρουμαι βα[σιλεα Πτ. κ.τ.λ.  
 τα] τουτων τεκνα μαρτυρες νικαν[ωρ -  
 δευτερ]ας ιππαρχιας εκατονταρουρος ως ε[των  
 αναφαλα]νθος μακροπροσωπος υποσκηνη[ς 5  
 ]ους της δευτερας ιππαρχιας εκα[τονταρουρος .  
 ευμεγ]εθης μελιχρως μακροπροσωπος τετα[νοθριξ  
 π]ροσφυεις διογενης μακεδων ε[  
 εκατ]ονταρουρος ως ετων ογδοιηκοντα  
 κλαστο ? θ]ριξ αναφαλανθος οξυριν ουλη σιαγονι 10  
 ι αριστεραι πολυνδικος μακεδων των  
 εκατονταρουρος ως ετων εξηκοντα μεσος -  
 τ]ετανοθριξ ωτα μειζω ουλη επι του . . .  
 μ]ακεδων των ιπποκρατου[ς] της δευτερας

(2)

βασιλευον[  
 αδελφων[  
 του θεογε[νους  
 κανηφορου[  
 μηνος ξα[ 5  
 θεισων εν[  
 αττιου τετ[

ξανδικον ι[ α]ρτε]μιδωραι  
 βασιλευοντ[ο]ς πτολεμα[ιου του πτολεμαιου] και αρσινοης [θεων αδελφων  
 ετους δευτερου και ει[κοστου εφ ιερεως αλεξι(?)κ]ρατους του θεογε[νους αλεξανδρου 10  
 και θεων αδελφων και θ[εων ευεργετων κανηφορ]ου αρσινοης φιλαδελφου βερενικης  
 της καλλιανακτος μην[ος ξανδικου δεκατω] εν κροκοδιλων πολει του αρσινοιτου .  
 νομου ταδε διεθετο νοων [και φρονων . . . . .]ης φιλωνας  
 ως ετων εξηκοντα μεσ[ος . . . . .] . . . τον αρι[στερον  
 ουλη υπ ως δεξιον ειη με[μ μοι νγιαινοντα αυτον τ]α εμαντου διοικειν εαν δε τι παθω 15  
 ανθρωπινον και τελευτ[ω καταλιμπανω παντα] τα υπαρχοντα  
 γυναικι μου αρτεμιδ[ωραι . . . . .] τος παιδιον  
 αριστο[ ] ι κυριευσειν [των (?)  
 υπαρχ[οντων] ] αρ . . ξειτο  
 προγεγ[ ] καθηκ 20  
 δ[



## XX.

FRAGMENTS OF WILLS, 225 B.C.

(COMMENTARY.)

### (1)

This is the conclusion of a will in the same handwriting as those on XIX., but is probably not finished in this column, as only five witnesses are mentioned. They are apparently all Macedonians, and 'hundred-acre men' of considerable age; the form *ὀγδοιήκοντα* (l. 9) here reappears (cf. XIX., l. 22), *ἀναφάλανθος*, a LXX. word, recurs frequently, but not so (l. 5) *ὑποσκνίπης*, *purbblind*, of which only *σκνιπος* is given by Hesychios. The word *προσφνεις*, *growing together*, is also unique in the fragments, and must refer to some peculiarity in appearance. I propose *τὰς ὄφρως ἔχων προσφνεῖς* (*i.e.* *σύνοφρως*, which occurs elsewhere), or something of the kind (*μυκτηρας*), even without *ἔχων*, as we have below (l. 13), *ὥτα μείζω*. Polyndikos is an interesting Macedonian name not hitherto found, so far as I know.

### (2)

These fragments are from the same roll, dating, I think, ten days later than XIX., for the gap in the second part of the plate will not admit of more than *δεκατωι*, to correspond with the *ι* preserved in the heading, which might there have been followed by any of the letters marking the numbers up to 9, for all we could have told.

But what precedes this date is very perplexing. It is certainly another formal heading, such as stood at the head of each will, and is of the same year and month, but only two lines of text follow, with a paragraph-line at the bottom, and these cannot possibly contain any bequests or witnesses. I take it therefore to be the heading of a new set of wills, and probably the statement that Theison (apparently a proper name) was the writer or official who entered or copied the ensuing documents. But this would seem natural at the beginning of such a series, whereas we had before us in XIX. a will at the opening of the month, and this preceded by another will. The explanation, therefore, which is the only one I am able to suggest, is not by any means satisfactory.

There can be far less doubt that in the mutilated remainder of the heading under this perplexing preamble, we have the heiress in the following testament; for by a piece of good fortune I hit upon another fragment which corresponded to that in question, but with a separation of 16 or 17 letters in the middle of each line. As the writing is very regular, and the scribe writes out his numbers in words, we can measure the lacuna with tolerable certainty. I have already spoken of the difficulty in the case of the priest's name; but Alexicrates is possible, there being some expansion or compression always possible in so large a number of letters as 16, without any sensible variation in the ordinary writing of the scribe. The provisions of the will are as usual lost, we can only tell that the testator bequeaths his property to his wife, in the present case, although there seems to be mention of a child; that there were some conditions annexed to Artemidora's inheritance regarding a child, or possible child; and that there was a question concerning the *κύριος*, possibly of this child, for the women in this society seem to have inherited without requiring to have their property vested in a *κύριος*.

## XXI.

WILL OF A LIBYAN, 237 B.C.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

μ]ηνος διου εν κροκοδιλων π[ο]λει του αρσινοιτου [ταδε διεθετο  
 νο]ων και φρονων μ . . . . του διανορος λιβυς τη[ς επιγονης -  
 ως] L . s μεσος τετανος ουλη επ οφρυνι επ οφρυνι δεξιαι  
 ειη μ]εν μοι υγαινοντι εμε των εμαντου υπαρχοντ[ων  
 πτολεμ]αιου και αρσινοης κυ]ριον ειναι διοικουντα τροπωι ων βουλωμαι εαν δε [τι 5  
 το]ν μοσχιωνος αλεξ παθω] ανθρωπινον καταλειπω το υπαρχον μοι κ[τημα(?)  
 ευερ]γετων κανηφορου . η[ ιε]ρον βερενικης και αφροδιτης αρσινοης ειν[αι(?)  
 φιλα]μμονος το βL τα με[ν κα]τα προσωπον του ιερου οis γειτονες εισι(?)  
 ]του αρσινοιτου απε μ[εν ]ν σισουχ[ο]ν του σ . . νησιος απο δε νοτου οδος  
 εν τωι α]μμωνιω ιερων δημοσια απο δε [λιβ]ος σ[ ] ε[ ]πτου πεψανητος και 10  
 ]τυχιους συλωτος του τυθν . . s απο δε βορρα οδος δημοσια γειτ[ονες -  
 ]ν οφρυνι αριστεραι δημητριου ροδιου ω[ς L]μs εγ μεγαθει μεγαλη  
 ]ν εαν δε τι φακος επι σιαγονι αρισ[τερωι] μετα κυριου αρτεμιδωρου [του .  
 ]τα παντα αρτεμιδωρου αιακιδε[ ] ως Lμ μελαγχρου ευμεγεθο[us  
 ]ει θεσσαλωι οξυρρινος μηλα μειζω [τα]δ εχομενα απο μεν απηλιω [του 15  
 ]ωι κα . βαι θεωνος αιεναπιμωτος και συλωτος του φαλοιτος απο  
 ]λος θυγατρι δε του αυλη κοινη απο δε λιβος οικος ιερος ανουβιος (?)  
 επιτρο]πους δε αιρου απο δε βορρα οδος δημοσια μεννεαι μεννεου α . ξοσ[ιου(?)  
 πτ]ολεμαιου ως L ξ λευκοχρως μεσση μεγαθει μετα κυριου κ . . αν[  
 βερενικ]ην την του μονιμου ανδρομαχειου ως Lοβ εθρυθριου μεσου 20  
 κα]ι τα τουτων ουλη ρινι εγ δεξιων τηνδ αυτην απο μεν της . . . ν .  
 φιλα]δελφειος του ταμειου του προς τωι ιερωι οικωι και τα εχομενα  
 ]πυρρακης της αυτης μεριδος μυσται το δευτερον μερος τ  
 μενει απ . νδεορ

## XXI.

WILL OF A LIBYAN, 237 B.C.  
(COMMENTARY.)

We now come to the last of the series of wills I have reproduced, and here again we have great difficulties both of reading and interpretation. The date is torn off, all but the month, and, strange to say the day, usually specified immediately after, is omitted. There is, however, no reason to attribute the document to any later date than that of the adjoining will. The clumsy variation in the opening formula (ll. 4, 5) would otherwise have pointed rather to an earlier time, when these phrases had not yet been officially crystallized. The name of the testator, a Libyan, is almost erased. His bequest is of a very unusual kind, for he leaves his property, in this case consisting of town houses, to be a shrine of the reigning queen and her mother (?). The specification of the property follows the usual Graeco-Egyptian method known from other Papyri (*e. g.* Papyrus L of the British Museum). I can only conjecture that the enumeration of boundaries follows the same order round the compass, viz. east (ἀπηλιώτης), south (νότος), west (λίψ) and north (βορρᾶς), wherever they occur in the document, though this is not the case in the two enumerations of the Papyrus L to which I have referred, and there is no room for ἀπηλιώτης in full in l. 9. Two separate enumerations, however, point to separate, though adjoining (cf. l. 15, τὰ δ' ἐχόμενα), houses or plots. What I find difficult to explain is the occurrence without a single word of explanation, of names and descriptions of people whom I can only conjecture to be the occupying tenants. Possibly the bequest was intended merely to produce rent for the new foundation, and the tenants were to continue to live and work for the priests in the houses described. In both cases it is a woman with her legal guardian or κύριος, another new feature in this series of the texts, for we have not elsewhere found a single clear case of a woman holding property under this restriction, which was so universal in Hellenic law. (l. 18). In this case both the woman and her guardian are usually described. The blunder (l. 19) μεση, for μεση, and Μεννεαι, is not unfrequent in later Ptolemaic documents of the same kind in Leemans' collection. The last two lines are untranslatable owing to the loss of the context.

In reading this difficult text I have obtained valuable corrections from Dr. Maunde Thompson, but several passages (cf. ll. 9, 16) are still undeciphered. In such cases I have simply set down the letter as best I could, without venturing to interpret. The writer of the will has made some peculiar slips, which added to our obstacles. In line 4 a phrase was written twice, and the first of the two erased. In l. 5 he has hesitated between ων and ωι. ἐθρυθριος (l. 20) is another blunder. l. 17 he supplies νο over the του, *sc.* νοτον. It is also curious that he does not always assimilate his final consonants, after the fashion well nigh universal at that time, but writes (l. 1) εν κροκ, and (l. 4) μεν μοι, though in l. 21 εγ δεξιων.

We now turn to the left column, which is really composed of fragments of two columns of wills laid together vertically. The left strip of these is so narrow and mutilated that it is not worth transcribing for those who have before them so many fuller texts. We can only tell with certainty that the first four lines are the close of a will (description of witnesses), and the succeeding ones form a new document beginning with the usual formulæ of which

πτο]λειαίου και  
αλεξαν[δρου  
αρσ]ινοης φιλα[δελφου  
πανε]μον ιε εγ  
νωω]ν και φρον[ων  
ως Λξε



## XXI.

WILL OF A LIBYAN, 237 B.C.

(COMMENTARY.)

---

are enough to tell us the general drift. The hand is that of the wills of the year 12, given above. This piece is on different papyrus and in a different hand from the adjoining scrap, which belongs to the same sheet as the larger text on the right, and is therefore very valuable in giving us the date (the year 10 of Ptolemy III), which we had otherwise lost. The testator seems to have been one of the priests in the Ammonion, or related to them, but certainly a Greek like the rest of his society. I have only supplied a few syllables, from which the reader can easily infer all the rest of the formulæ. The amount which we can supply here with perfect certainty far exceeds the amount preserved, and at first sight so surprises the reader as even to cause doubts in his mind. But a comparison of the whole series will remove all difficulty.

With this caution I close my commentary upon a new and peculiar branch of Mr. Petrie's Papyri.

XXII.  
COMMERCIAL DOCUMENTS.  
(TRANSCRIPTION.)

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(1)

πτολεμαιου τ[ου πτ]ολεμαιου σωτηρος ετους εκτου και τριακοστου εφ ι[ερεως κ.τ.λ.  
κανηφορου] αρσινοης φιλαδελφου εχετιμης της μεννεου μηνος αθυρ[  
]θεαριστιος κυρηναιος των περι λυσιμαχου  
]ικου του εν ταις προσοδοις ταις λυσιμαχου το  
]τα εξετη εις πυρων αρταβας δισ[μυριας

(2)

βασιλενοντος πτολεμαιου του  
πτολεμαιου σωτηρος Λι[χη ?  
μετρησις εργαων των εν τη καλλι  
φανους μεριδι της νικωνος νομαρχιας  
δια δωριωνος του παρα Ιωπυριωνος  
και απολλωνιδου του πάρα νικωνος  
και δι           ιαμω           τε εν των  
εν εκαστωι τοπωι  
— εν           αι παρα την λιμνην περι  
ω μεριδα δια κωμαρχου πασιτος  
ογ   γος χωμα αγον απο του ?  
                    πασιτος και των  
                    χωμα

## XXII.

### COMMERCIAL DOCUMENTS.

#### (COMMENTARY.)

---

(1)

The documents in this Autotype are of great importance palæographically, for though there are a good many texts in the rapid and illegible cursive of the 2nd Ptolemy's reign among those published by Mr. Sayce, I am not aware that there are elsewhere to be found official papers of this kind formally dated. The first of them is not the oldest, but is an isolated fragment, whereas the second belongs to the large sheet of accounts on the next Autotype. But there are probably not ten years between them, and they give us an example of the title *Soter* for the 1st Ptolemy, which had never before (I think) been found in inscriptions or contemporary documents. The year of the reigning king is written out in words, as is the case with the wills in the year 22 of his successor (XIX.). This variation is therefore dependent on a mere fancy of the scribe. The sense is doubtful, as the end of the sentence is lost, but it is probably a contract or undertaking. "[In the reign of Ptolemy] son of Ptolemy Soter, the 36th year (249 B.C.). In the priesthood of —, the Canephorus of Arsinoe Philadelphus being Echetime, the daughter of Menneas, in the month of Athyr [day lost, and the place], Thearistios, the Cyrenean, from the followers of Lysimachus [hired?], from X, who controls the revenues of Lysimachus [some property], for a period of six years, amounting to 20,000 artabæ of wheat [in value]." The general drift was something of this kind. We have a new Canephorus to add the very imperfect list hitherto known (cf. Revillout in the *Revue égyptol.*, i., pp. 15 sq.), whose very name is new, though her father had the good old Attic name of Menneas. The date is given, as in all these local extracts, by the Egyptian month. This and the following give us the handwriting of daily official life in 250 B.C.

(2)

This may possibly be the oldest certain date in all the collection. The first bar of the figure is certain, which must be either an I or the beginning of a K. I incline myself to read KH (28), which will give us 257 B.C. The writing is exceedingly faint, and the document had been cut in pieces and scattered. It seems to give us an account of work done at the very settlement of the veterans in the Fayyum. No priest or priestess appears, and no day of the month. The latter omission is sufficiently explained by the series of dates in the succeeding sheets, so that the "measurement of works" occupied a considerable time. The absence of the priest and Canephorus may be a mere want of formality. Many ephemeral documents are marked by the mere numbers of the years of the reign and the month; luckily the actual king is here mentioned. It is "the measurement of work done in Calliphanes' division of the nomarchy of Nikon, under the direction of Dorion, the agent of Zopyrion, and Apollonides, the agent of Nikon, and —, specified in each place."

Then follow the details of the account continued through several sheets, of which several large fragments were found in the same mummy-case. I have given some of them in the sequel, though the substance of them is foreign to this Memoir, on account of their singular value as



## XXII.

### COMMERCIAL DOCUMENTS.

#### (COMMENTARY.)

---

specimens of early handwriting. We find that the *Komarch*, or local officer, was an Egyptian, who directed work near *the lake*, which occupied the centre of the oasis. The nature of the work, all through the account, is the making or repairing of mounds, whereby (I conjecture) the new *κληροι*, or lots of land, were to be defined.

The puzzling word, *ναυσια*, which Letronne had already found in one of the accounts, published from the Louvre collection, and which he failed to explain, meets us here at every turn; nor is the reading here doubtful, as it was in the Louvre papyrus. I suppose it to be a Macedonian word, meaning *sum total*, or *in gross*, but this is only a guess. It occurs always before a sum of money, and after a description of work, and usually standing apart from the text before it.

## XXIII.

A LABOUR BILL.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

κβ το λ του χωματος τ[ο]υ αγωντος  
 απο  $\overset{\circ}{\nu}$  εις  $\overset{\circ}{\beta}$  ναυβ[ια]  
 και εις επιβολη[ν παλαιου] χωματος  
 του αττινου?  $\hat{\Delta}$ ρπε (4185)  
 μ]εσορει  $\bar{\eta}$  εις επιβολην του αυτου χω  
 μ]ατος ναυβια  $\hat{\Delta}\nu$  (4400)  
 δια πασιτος και των λει? οχων  
 ναυβια  $\overset{a}{M}\hat{\Delta}\rho\kappa$  (14120)  
 εις ξ των αι- τ λακ  
 πεκυσις νεκτενιβιος νευρτα  
 εφειφ ις χωμα καιν[ον] αγων απο  
 $\hat{a}$  εις  $\hat{i}$  . ναυβια  $\hat{a}\rho\iota a$  (1111)  
 αλλο χωμα καινον αγων απο  $\overset{\circ}{\nu}$  εις  $\overset{\circ}{\beta}$   
 ναυβια  $\hat{\Delta}\omega\lambda\delta\sigma\acute{a}$  (4834 . . perhaps  $\acute{o}\delta = \acute{\tau}$ )  
 μεσορει κε αλλο χωμα καινον  
 αγων  $\overset{\circ}{\nu}$  εις  $\overset{\circ}{\beta}$   $\hat{\Delta}$  υπδ- (4484  $\frac{1}{2}$ )  
 και εις επιβολην παλαιου χωματος  
 του ανα μεσον του κληρου υμ  
 ζ εις τα διακομματα της μεγαλης  
 διωρυγος ναυβια  
 / δια πεκυσιος υφ  
 απολλοδοτος α κ  
 αρθωντου χωμα καινον [α]γον απ[ο]  
 $\overset{\circ}{\beta}$  ναυβια  
 χωμα καινον ν

## XXIII.

## A LABOUR BILL

## (COMMENTARY.)

This text is a continuation of the dated document (2) on XXII., and I have added, instead of Commentary, the following fragments belonging to the same sheet, for the benefit of those who study this side of Ptolemaic life. But I must remind them that no modern press can supply accurately the various symbols used in these accounts. This will appear from a comparison of the Autotype with the transcription. I have given the figures in brackets, so far as I could decipher them. The large amounts seem to me to make it certain that they are in copper money, not in silver, the relation being 120 : 1. This result would contradict the theory of Revillout, that in early Ptolemaic days silver was the currency, which was not replaced by copper till the decadence beginning with Ptolemy IV. I have in fact another document of Ptolemy III.'s time where the well-known formula οὐ ἀλλαγὴ appears in full.

Êψοβ / τπδ . . (5772 / τ 380½ . .)

End of a column above.

α ρομ ρσου παχωνς ιᾱ  
 εις επιβολην παλαιου χωματος του  
 αττινου ? ναυβια Δτθῑβ̄ (4309 τ 1½)  
 ιβ̄ εις το αυτο χωμα ναυβια Δψμεγ̄ (4745½)  
 αλλο καινον αγον απο ᾱ εις ῑ /  
 απο της βασιλικης οδου Γ̄φβσόή (3502 σ 7/8)  
 παυνι κς ? χωμα καινον απο της βασιλικης  
 ο[δου . . .]ον ᾱ εις ῑ απο του κερκιωνος  
 . . . . ναυ]βια ψς (706)  
 και [ ] καινου χωματος του αγον  
 τος επῑ επι της βασιλικης  
 οδου ναυβια Δ̄χοθ (4679)  
 αλ]λο καινον αγον ν̄ επι ι του κερ [κι]ω[νος  
 ναυ]βια Δ̄ως (4806)

To the left and right are the ends and beginnings of similar columns. On another column we have—

τον κληρου αγον απο ᾱ εις ῑ χνα  
 αλλο χωμα καινον εμμεστωι του  
 ᾱ εις ῑ ναυβια χξηέ (668½)  
 εφειφ̄ ιγ̄ χωμα καινον αγον ν̄ εις  
 ναυβια Δ̄χνγή (4653½)  
 και αιεργασμενοι εισιν μετα ι  
 φατοητοο ναυβια  
 / δοριβιτων  
 εις ξ των . . . .

A few more isolated words are visible.



## XXIV.

### FRAGMENTS OF LEGAL DOCUMENTS.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

---

(1)

δ]αισιου  $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$  θωυθ  $\overline{\beta}$

(2)

ουδαναευσ παρων επεγραφην μαρτυς εις συγγραφ[ην  
νη ην συνσημηναμενοι Ιηνοδωρος και σωσιφανης  
ιω κυριαν σωσιφανει ης εστιν αντιγραφα ταδε

πτ]ολεμαιοιου ετους εκκαιδεκατο[υ  
θ]εων αδελφων μη[νος περι]τιου  
αυ του ασπενδιος της δ  
ο πατηρ αυτου καλλικ[ρατης  
ταν οικημα τοσου ητρο

(3)

ν λειδοι σελιτου διομη[δης  
νακ τιμητου του υπο  
αμα τη λοιπηι αγοραι ηι ειληφασι εγ βασιλικου  
ερρωσο  $\overline{\text{L}}$ λ φαρμουθι  $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$

## XXIV.

## FRAGMENTS OF LEGAL DOCUMENTS.

## (COMMENTARY.)

## (1)

We have here nothing but a date in Macedonian and Egyptian months preserved, and yet this is enough to give us the year, from a comparison with two other monumental dates of the same kind. The Macedonian months are well known to have been lunar, so that it became necessary to fill up their solar year with intercalary months, a process irregular and uncertain, and causing much confusion, till at last this system was put in harmony with the reformed almanac of Julius Cæsar. The Egyptians, on the contrary, had not only a solar year of 365 days, but perfectly understood that even this was too short, and that the quarter day omitted produced a gradual estrangement of dates from the seasons which they were intended to mark. The priests, however, do not seem to have introduced the reform of the civil solar year till the time of the third Ptolemy, when, in the famous Canopus inscription, it is provided that the new feasts shall be kept according to the scientific Calendar. They were not at pains to reform or improve the Macedonian Calendar, and so we find that forty years later (the date of the Rosetta inscription) the relation not only of days, but of months, between the Macedonian and Egyptian reckoning had changed. Let me here set down the tables of the months for comparison. I will give the correspondence of months according to the Canopus inscription:—

MACEDONIAN.	EGYPTIAN.
Διος	Χοιαχ
Απελλαιος (7)	Τυβι (17)
Αυδναιος	Μεχιρ
Περιτιος	Φαμενωθ
Δυστρος	Φαρμουθι
Ξανδικος	Παχων
Αρτεμισιος	Παννι
Δαισιος	Εφειφ (Επειφι)
Πανemos	Μεσορει (Μεσωρη)
Λωιος	Θωvθ (Θωθ)
Γορπιαιος	Φαωφι
Υπερβερεταιος	Αθυρ

In the year 238 B.C., when the Canopus inscription was dated, the 7th of Apellæus corresponded to the 17th of Tybi. But in the year 196 B.C., when the Rosetta inscription was dated, the 4th of Xandikos corresponded to the 18th of Mechir. In other words, there had been four more months and four days counted on the Macedonian than on the Egyptian side, and any indication of the seasons by the Macedonian months must have been absurd. The Macedonian date had gained upon the more correct Egyptian 44 days in 42 years, or roughly, a day in the year.

Let us now compare the date we have in this fragment. The 23rd of Daisios corresponds to the 2nd of Thoth. Evidently, therefore, the date cannot be posterior to 238 B.C., because the variation has not attained that stage, far less the stage indicated in the year 196 B.C. The Macedonian

## XXIV.

### FRAGMENTS OF LEGAL DOCUMENTS.

#### (COMMENTARY.)

---

months had not yet overtaken the Egyptian, if I may take the table as the normal correspondence, but were even further behind them. In the year of this new date the 17th Tybi must have corresponded to no day in Apellaeus, but to the 8th of Dios—in other words, the difference which in the forty-two subsequent years amounted to four months, here amounts to about one month the other way. I do not wish to be more precise, as the interposing of intercalary months makes such arithmetical computations very liable to error. But broadly speaking, we have a date earlier by one-fourth the difference between the Canopus and Rosetta inscriptions, or approximately 249–8 B.C.

It is easy to see from this argument why the Egyptian mode of reckoning time not only held its own against that of the victorious Macedonians, but even obtained a greater popularity, and was retained in ordinary use. After the Christian era, when the Macedonian reckoning conformed to the Julian year, we know that the Macedonian was again adopted, and afterwards was commonly used by the Coptic Church; but in earlier days, the superiority of the Egyptian Calendar was such, that Letronne had never found a Macedonian date by itself, but always explained by the Egyptian, while in the private documents of the second and third Ptolemy's reign the Egyptian month is always used, and usually without any Macedonian equivalent. It was only in legal documents affecting Greeks that the old national Calendar of the conquering race appears, and that more to satisfy traditional sentiment than from any feeling of its practical use. Hence it is that I have found every Macedonian month, save one, mentioned in the Gurob papyri. The exception is Hyperberetaeos, which usually corresponded (about this period) to the time of the late rising of the Nile—a time of general holiday and festivity in Egypt from time immemorial. I suppose the invaders copied this ancient and practical custom, and transacted no law business during the period when the country was under water. This is the conjecture which I offer to explain the omission of one month among so many dates. Our documents are, however, so fragmentary, that it may be the result of mere chance.

#### (2) AND (3)

Even such small scraps of text as these are worth reproducing on account of the dates. The former is the sixteenth year of the second Ptolemy, for reasons which I have already stated. There is no Canephorus mentioned, and no titles whatever belonging to Euergetes. The handwriting is, therefore, that of the year 268 B.C. The heading states that this dated document is the copy of an older agreement; but there is no probability that the original was in any sense an ancient agreement when it was reproduced on this sheet of papyrus.

Similar in character is the handwriting of (3), dated the year 30, also of the second Ptolemy, but here (in the case of a letter) the Egyptian month, and not the Macedonian, is given. It is idle to speculate on the subject-matter, which relates to payments from the royal exchequer.



## XXV.

FRAGMENTS OF THE MOUSEION OF ALKIDAMAS AND OF A LETTER.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1)

τρο[πον τουτον]  
 απαντων  
 των κριτων  
 π]ανηδου προε  
 στηκοτος? παρελθον 5  
 τα φασιν τον?] ησιοδον ερω  
 ταιν κατα τοιαδε— νιε  
 μελητου ομηρε θεων απο] μηδεα  
 ειδως, ειπ αγε μοι παμπρω]τα τι  
 φερτατον εστι βροτοισι]ν τον 10  
 δε ομηρον] σοιπ  
 η αρ  
 χην μεν μη φνναι ε]πιχθονιοισι  
 αριστον φυντα δ]οπως ωκισ  
 τα πυλας αιδαο περησ]αι επιβα 15  
 ]ος ερωται το  
 ειπ ἄγε μοι καὶ το]υτο θε  
 οισ επιεικελ ομηρε τι θν]ητοις καλ  
 λιστον οιεαι εν φρεσιν ε]ιναι ο δ ομη  
 στιχους 20  
 .  
 υ  
 ακουα]ων[τ]αι

[82] θ[ωσι τραπειαι σιτον και κρειων με-  
 θυ δ[εκ κρητηρος] οιν[οχο 25  
 ος φορεη[σι κ]αι εκχε[ινη δεπαεσσιν  
 τουτο μοι καλλιστ[ον ενι φρεσι φαιν-  
 εται ειναι ρηθεν[των δε του-  
 των των επων [ουτω σφοδρως  
 φασιν θαυμασθην[αι τους στι- 30  
 χού υπο των ελλην[ων ωστε χρυ-  
 σους αυτους προσα[γορευουσι και ετι?  
 προ των δειπνων και [σπον  
 δων προκατευχοντ[αι παντες  
 αχ]θεσθεις δε ο ησιοδος ε[? 35  
 πι την αποριαν της [ερωτησεως  
 ωρμησεν και λεγει τ[ους στιχους  
 τουσδε μουσα γε μοι[ τα τ εοντα  
 τα τ εσσομενα προ τ εοντα  
 των μεν μηθεν αιειδ[ε συ δ αλλης 40  
 μνησαι αοιδης ο δ ομ[ηρος βουλο  
 μενος λυσαι την απο]ριαν και της ε  
 ρωτησεως αποφε[υγειν προφερει?  
 στιχους τουσδε [ουδε ποτ αμφι  
 διος τυμβοῖν καν[αχηποδες ιπ- 45  
 ποι αρμα[τα συντριψουσιν ερι-  
 ιοντες [περι νικης καλως δε  
 ομηρον [κ. τ. λ.

(2)

. . ιν εν ιερεις τοπουχου . και της φιλαδελφου  
 ηιαρ αι το η τετρα και εικοστης ωστων  
 ταε θεις τοις θησαυροις επισκεψατο δε  
 τ γραφούσιν απο της τετρα και εικοστης δος αυτοις  
 σληθους προς ανδρονικον και τους ερημοφυλακας  
 ιν και τους σ[α]κκους σφραγισαμενος αποστειλον  
 τους επακολουθους παρτοι παρασο s περι τ γ υ  
 ετους ]λε θωνθ κε

[70]

## (1)

This apparently insignificant fragment is encompassed with a crowd of literary problems. It was identified by Mr. L. C. Purser as belonging to the text of the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, a tract by some Hellenistic sophist, referring to Hadrian,\* and therefore not compiled before the second century A.D. The citation of Hadrian's opinion makes this major limit of age certain. This discovery at first sight would seem to support such arguments as that of the writer in the *Quarterly Review* of April, 1891, who hazards the random assertion that the classical texts in this collection may be as late as the recently recovered *Polity of the Athenians*. The most elementary knowledge of palæography, or even five minutes spent in comparing the hand-writings, will show any intelligent person that this is absurd. To refer the present fragment to the second century A.D. would not only assume the wonderful position that dated documents which close with the year 225 B.C. were used up with documents 400 years younger, without any trace of intermediate matter; that the Ptolemaic mummy-cases are not to be distinguished from the Roman period; but also that the perfectly defined characteristics of the handwriting are of no value at all. But why waste words on such an argument?

Let us rather turn to a critical examination of the text of the *Contest*, as reproduced for us from the solitary Laurentian MS by F. Nietzsche.† To this text, which he owes to the careful collation of Erwin Rohde, he has added two able critical articles in vols. xxv. and xxviii. of the *Rhein. Museum*, wherein the history of the legend is fully discussed. The present discovery will show how well he has used the stray and doubtful lights concerning the origin of this famous legend. Setting aside the account in the *Banquet of the Seven Wise Men*, a spurious tract printed among Plutarch's works, he gathers from the genuine *Symposiaca* of Plutarch (V. 2) that the story of the *Contest* was old and widely spread, though we have only late authorities—Themistius, Philostratus, and John Tzetzes—citing it.‡ This points to an origin older than the sophist of Hadrian's day, and Nietzsche has consequently set to work to discover it. He has found two indications, in themselves very slight, pointing in the same direction. Our extant tract cites once, and in connexion with the burial of Hesiod, Alkidamas, the well-known pupil of Gorgias, rival of Isocrates, and author of the tract *περὶ σοφιστῶν*, now printed in Blass' *Attic Orators*. It so happens that Stobæus also quotes two lines which occur in our *Contest* as from the *Μουσεῖον* of Alkidamas, a work which Aristotle tells us (in his *Rhetoric*) was called *Μουσεῖον τῆς φύσεως* by the author. These stray hints, supplemented by what Vahlen, and since Blass, have found out about the character and writings of Alkidamas, led Nietzsche to advance the theory that our *Contest* was not the invention of a late sophist, but was put together by him from older materials, of which the main source was the *Μουσεῖον* of Alkidamas, from whom the contest of the two great poets received its earliest literary form.

He defends the Stobæus' quotation of the famous lines beginning *ἀρχὴν* (instead of the variant *πάντων*) against the various subtleties of Leutsch, who seeks to prove that this form

\* ὅπερ δὲ ἀκηκόαμεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος Ἀδριανοῦ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας περὶ Ὅμηρον, ἐκθησόμεθα. This only refers to his *γένος*, not to the *Contest*, which is introduced as a new subject.

† *Acta Soc. Phil. Lips.*, Ed. Ritschl, vol. i., 1870.

‡ He refers to V. Rose, *Aristot. Pseudepigr.*, p. 509, for the opinion of Tzetzes.

## XXV.

### FRAGMENTS OF THE MOUSEION OF ALKIDAMAS AND OF A LETTER. (COMMENTARY.)

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was derived from a passage in Crantor, and therefore long subsequent to Alkidamas. Let me add, that F. Blass, in accepting this theory of Nietzsche, notes that the style of the *Contest*, and its avoidance of hiatus, which to a late sophist would be indifferent, point to the excerpts being verbally transferred from the *Μουσεῖον* of Alkidamas. Nietzsche further suggests, from the references in Tzetzes to *long* quotations by the two poets, that the poetical passages have been cut down, and the context reproduced in a more compendious form than Alkidamas' original.

These are the speculations upon which we can now bring new evidence to bear. The text here recovered proves to demonstration that the *Contest* was not an invention of Hadrian's age, but existed in much the same form four hundred years earlier. Its occurrence among the Fayyum papyri, where classical fragments are not very numerous, points to a widespread popularity. So far, then, the theory of Nietzsche has received the most brilliant confirmation. We can also declare that the reading ἀρχήν (*cf.* l. 12), which he defends, was the reading in the third century B.C., and therefore almost certainly the genuine text. As regards the shortening of the citations in the *Contest*, the new evidence is partly for him and partly against him. The citations in our fragment correspond (with slight variations of reading) to those of the *Contest*; but on the other hand, we find that the connecting links were fuller, and constructed with more attention to literary form. Where the *Contest* has merely Ὅμηρος or Ἡσίοδος, our new fragment seems to have explanatory clauses. The conjecture of Blass, in referring the very words of the late sophist to his classical authority, is thus only verified with some qualifications. We have, therefore, before us a fragment of the *Μουσεῖον* of Alkidamas, which may now be added to the scanty remains of that once remarkable literary figure.

I now add some details concerning my treatment of the text.

The left column is only sufficiently preserved to show us that this old version of the story was here somewhat altered in expression by the Hadrianic sophist. Here is his text:— [ll. 63 *sqq.*, Ed. Nietzsche] καὶ οὗτοι οὖν ἐκ τύχης, ὥς φασι, συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλοις ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Χαλκίδα, τοῦ δ' ἀγῶνος ἄλλοι τέ τινες τῶν ἐπισήμων Χαλκιδέων ἐκαθέζοντο κριταὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Πανείδης ἀδελφὸς ᾧν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος. Ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν θαυμαστῶς ἀγωνισαμένων νικῆσαί φασι τὸν Ἡσίοδον τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· προελθόντα γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέσον πυρθάνεσθαι τοῦ Ὁμήρου καθ' ἑν ἕκαστον, τὸν δὲ Ὅμηρον ἀποκρίνεσθαι. φησὶν οὖν Ἡσίοδος· Ὦϊε Μέλητος, κ.τ.λ. I have given much more than can have stood in our fragment, of which the first seven lines corresponded in sense to the last part of the above extract, but somewhat in the following way:—ὁ ἀγὼν τῶν ποιητῶν ἐγένετο τοιοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. Συναθροισθέντων μὲν πάντων | τῶν Χαλκιδέων καὶ τῶν κριτῶν | τῶν ἐπισήμων Πανήδου προε|στηκότος τοῦ βασιλέως παρελθόντα φασιν τὸν Ἡσίοδον ἐρω|ταῖν κατὰ στίχους τοιάδε—Ὦϊε κ.τ.λ.

The answer of Homer in the *Contest* is introduced with the single word Ὅμηρος, where ll. 10–12 of the papyrus were filled with a clause beginning τὸν [δὲ Ὅμηρον, &c., before the actual reply, beginning with ἀρχήν, appears. I have in vain striven to catch the sense from the faint vestiges of these lines. At the end of the quotation the *Contest* gives merely Ἡσίοδος τὸ δεύτερον, whereas the papyrus (ll. 15–17), apparently ἐπιβαλλόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἡσίοδος ἐρωταῖ τὸ δεύτερον· εἴπ' ἄγε μοι τοῦτο, and then follows the quotation (with the reading τί θνητοῖς κάλλιστον).



The reply is again given in our *Contest* by a mere  $\delta$  δέ, whereas our papyrus had  $\delta$  δ' "Ομηρος ἀποκρίνεται καὶ λέγει τοῦσδε τοὺς στίχους, or something very like it.

We pass to the right column. The papyrus differs somewhat in ll. 5–11 from the later version, which gives ῥηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἐπῶν, οὕτω σφοδρῶς φασὶ θαυμασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Ε. τὰ ἔπη, ὥστε χρυσοῦς αὐτοὺς στίχους προσαγορευθῆναι, καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς θυσίαις πρὸ τῶν δείπνων καὶ σπονδῶν προκατεύχεσθαι πάντας. I have restored the papyrus in close adherence to this wording, but the construction differs. So also in ll. 12–14, we have in our printed texts,  $\delta$  δ' Ἡσίοδος ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ Ὀμήρου εὐημερίᾳ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπόρων ὥρμησεν ἐπερώτησιν καὶ φησι τοῦσδε τοὺς στίχους. And so in l. 25 the construction of the papyrus is a genitive absolute, while our text of the *Contest* proceeds,  $\delta$  δ' "Ομηρος βουλόμενος κ.τ.λ.

## (2)

This document seems to have been an official order directed to a local officer, who levied a tax of  $\frac{1}{24}$ , perhaps in kind, in some district not far from the camp of the ἐρημοφύλακες, who protected the frontier of the Oasis from the invasion of wild desert tribes, which have from time immemorial troubled the peace and security of Egypt; but I am not aware that either the existence of a special frontier force under the Ptolemies, or its official name, has ever yet been definitely ascertained. This in itself gives our fragment a certain importance. The object of the letter seems to have been to provide these troops from the supplies collected near them by the local officer, and to save the transport of provisions from headquarters. A tax of  $4\frac{1}{8}$  per cent. is also to me a novelty; nor am I aware that the Ptolemies levied such a tax generally. Perhaps it was specially required from certain districts for this special need. The date is here unmistakable. The year 35 can only have been in the reign of Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus), and is therefore 250 B.C. The Macedonian month is not given, as was usual in more formal documents at that early date. I have discussed this question fully in relation to another date (see XXIV. (1)).

## XXVI.

### FRAGMENT OF OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

τη]ς γραφεισης μοι επιστολης υφ ην και

[The rest too fragmentary ; it ends]

ερρωσο Ls αρτεμισιον  $\overline{\kappa\beta}$

ματος παρα ανδρονικου απεσταλκα σοι το αντιγραφ[ον  
χοντα <sup>p</sup>συντεγεων κατα ταυτα Ls αρτεμισιου κ[β

πα]ρα ανδρονικου ευρισκομεν εγ κροκοδιλων πολει τ[  
τ . . . νυν καθειρηκοτος τας στεγας υπο των κυριων  
ρας των οικων βωμους προσωικοδομηκασιν εις τοδ  
γαι εαν σοι δοκει επει στενοχωρουμεν σταθμοις  
κ]υριους των οικων . . . μη ειναι το επι  
κατα τους επι των δωματων και ανοικοδομησαι  
τωσαν εως μεν αποδιδοναι εις τους νυν παρα

### (COMMENTARY.)

This fragment of official correspondence is dated the year 6, doubtless of the 3rd Ptolemy, therefore 241 B.C. It is also very interesting palæographically, as it is very similar to the great epistolary writing, and somewhat removed from the smaller official hands. But that the surface of the papyrus has frayed away it would be very legible. As it is, the upper part is in a hopeless state. But it refers to the "copy" which is appended below, and which discussed some of the difficulties attending the arrangements of the new homesteads in the Fayyum. What the difficulty was, in which homesteads and altars were concerned, I am unable to tell. But the discovery of other similar texts may possibly give us sufficient clue to clear up many of the difficulties and decipher many of the vestiges of words still unread.

## XXVII.

FRAGMENTS OF LEGAL RECORDS.  
(TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1)

Λ] κα εφ ιερεως ταλεστου  
ου αρσινοης φιλαδελφου  
αρσινοιτου νομου επι

εκπλωι πυθιων αριστο  
επιβαλλοντος μερους

(3)

π]τολεμαιου και αρσινοης θεων αδελφων Λκα ε  
θεων ευεργετων κανηφορου αρσινοης φιλαδε  
πολ]ει του αρσινοιτου νομου επι προεφρωνιος  
δι. ιρειης τας κος δειν θεοσωιδ ? της δικ<sup>α ην</sup>  
. εν της επιγονης των ουπω επηγμ[ενων 5  
του Ιωπυριωνος του μοσχωνος μακεδον[ος

(2)

αλεξανδρου και θεων αδελφων και θεων ευεργε  
μουεπιπροεωρου ιαωνος ? δικασται  
λος κατεδικασθη ην εγραψατο δημεας διοδωρου και φ ?  
ου ζωπυριωνος του μοσχωνος μακεδονος

ιερ]εως ταλεστου του φιλι[ππου ? 5  
β]ερενικης της σωσιπολ[εως.  
δικασται διοκλης  
κ]ατεδικασθη ην εγρα[ψατο  
ημονος ωπι ασιοδωρου  
]γονης κατα συγγραφην 10

## (COMMENTARY.)

These records of legal decisions are dated in the 21st year of Ptolemy III., and we have not only the name of the priest Talestes, but of another Canephorus called Berenice, the daughter of Sosipolis. I shall comment upon the form of these documents when I have brought other specimens before the reader. The upper part of (2) is written in a very careless cursive, in which the beginning of the second line and the end of the third have resisted my efforts to read and explain them.

The same is the case with the fourth line of (3), in which we have (l. 5) what nowhere else occurs in these papers—a combination of the two expressions, τῆς ἐπιγόνης τῶν οὐπω ἐπηγμένων. I have noticed this phrase already in the Commentary on XIII.

All these documents are distinctly cursive, so much so that there is no distinction whatever in the making of Π and Μ, and hardly any between Α and Λ. The reader will find for himself other peculiarities.



## XXVIII.

FRAGMENTS OF LEGAL RECORDS (225 AND 235 B.C.),  
(TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1)

κι αρσινωης θεων αδελφων Λκβ εφ ιερεως αλεξικρατου του θεισωνος? αλεξανδρου και θεων αδελφων  
κροκοδιλων πολει του ρ<sup>α</sup>σινουτου . . . δικασται διοκλης αριστομαχος μαιανδριος διομηδης δι[ονυσιος  
δικη εριλλος κατεδικασθη[ην] εγραψατο πολεμων λοκρος των

πτολεμαιου του πτολεμαιου και αρσινωης θεων αδελφων Λκβ εφ [ιερεως  
αλεξανδρου και θεων αδελφων και θεων ευεργετων κανηφορου [αρσινωης  
τη]ς καλλιανακτος μηνος λωιου κη εγ κροκοδιλων πολει του αρσιν[ουτου  
δικασ]ται διοκλης αριστομαχος μαιανδριος διομηδης δ[ιον]υσιος α  
εριλλος κατεδικασθη ην εγραψατο πολεμω[ν λοκρος τ]ων  
ωι πρωτιωνος καρδιανωι της επιγονης κατα[

μηνος λωιου κη

(2)

Λιβ ε[φ ιερεω]ς ευ[κλεους  
ξεληφ? ος των  
αρσινουτου εκτ  
ως της επιγονης

βασιλεοντος [πτολε]μαιου του πτολεμ[αιου  
και αρσινωης θεων [αδ]ελφων Λια ως δ[ε] περι?  
οδοι Λιβ εφ ιερεως σελευκου του αντιμενιδου [αλε  
ξανδρου και θεων αδελφων και θεων ευεργετων  
κανηφορου αρσινωης φιλαδελφου . . . μενιδειας? [της  
λεωνιας μηνος φαμενωθ κ εγ κωμηι  
λυ . . . οικωι του αρσινουτου της εμαυτου με[ριδος?  
εκ ειων διονυσιου τους φο  
τεταρτων του ταριχευ[μα]τος  
στοι βL παρ[ε] δοξου και στεου  
ου . . . ωνος των εξειας φ ιαν  
χου και ασκλη

5

10

## XXVIII.

FRAGMENTS OF LEGAL RECORDS (225 AND 235 B.C.).  
(COMMENTARY.)

---

### (1)

These documents are apparently duplicates, or nearly so, but there are one or two points not clear to me, and even a word or two which I cannot read. As a specimen of a cursive hand the small writing is remarkable, being actually contemporary with the splendid hands of XIX. and XX. The name of the priest is here quite clear, and according to what M. Revillout has deciphered in a demotic contract—Alexicrates. On this name I have commented above (Commentary to XIX.). The difficulty lies here in the father's name, which is certainly not Theogenes, but apparently. Theison. The form of the record (which notes a judgment, just as we now collect and print records of cases) gives first the date fully, then the names of the judges or arbitrators—apparently five in number—and then the names of plaintiff and defendant. But in neither case can we find the award set down, the end being mutilated. The first document would be very difficult indeed to read without help from the second; where the words of the former are gone, *e. g.* after the word *αρσινοιτου* I cannot read what follows till we reach *δικασται*. The lines of the small upper writing are exceedingly long; thirty-six letters are lost at the beginning, and twenty-five at the close, for the word *αδελφων* is separated from the next word extant—*κροκοδιλων*—by formulæ (which can be supplied from XIX.) amounting to sixty letters. The award, therefore, may easily have been contained in the end of the third line.

### (2)

This is a specimen of the smallest and most rapid cursive of the period. The surface is so worn that it seems impossible to decipher any connected text. But the date is quite clear—the year 12 of Ptolemy III., from which we have several wills. Nay, more, we find here not only the name of the priest Seleucus, but his father, Antimenidas, if I have read it right. This also is the place already alluded to (above), where there is a hesitation concerning the date between the years 11 and 12. Contrary to the habit of these documents, the Egyptian month Phamenoth is given, instead of the Macedonian. The contract mentions the fourth (25 per cent.) of the *ταριχευμα*, or embalming, unless it be *ταριχους*, which, of course, would refer to quite a different industry. But further speculation upon this text is idle. As a specimen of dated handwriting it is, nevertheless, very important.

## XXIX.

## A LETTER FROM A STEWARD.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

... ιων σωσιφανει χαιρειν	επαγγελομενου και φιλοτιμου	
χαρις τοις θεῖς πολλη ει υγαι	οντος γινωσκε δε και οτι	
νεις υγαινει δε και λωνικος	υδωρ εκαστος των ορων την	
πεφυτευται δε και η αμπε	αμπελον φυτευομενην προτερον	15
λος πασα... πυθμενες	δειν φασιν [ο]υ [δε υ]παρχειν	
τριακοσιοι και τα περι την		
αναδεινδραδα το δε ελαιον		
δεδωκεν χους s τουτων	(A)	
εχει dynis γ εχρησαμην	οχετευομεν δε και ποτιζομεν	
δε και παρα δυνεως αρτα	ετους τα πρωτα ιι	10
βας δ κριθοπυρων αυτου	ερρωσο	

(COMMENTARY.)

With the exception of the writer's name, this document is complete. It is a letter from a steward to his employer, Sosiphanes—a name which recurs frequently in these papers.

“— to Sosiphanes, greeting.—I give much thanks to the Gods if you are well. Lonikos also is well. The whole vineyard has been planted [an erasure], viz. 300 stocks, and the climbing vines attended to. But the olive-yard has yielded six measures, of which Dynis has got three. Also I have borrowed from Dynis four artabae of bearded wheat, which he offered, was pressing to lend. Know, also, that each of the watchers says that the planted vines want water first, and that they have none.”

On the back of this document the note (A): “we are making conduits and watering. The third of the first month [?]. Good-bye.”

1. 2, the scribe writes the ο of θεοις, which he had forgotten, over the line.
1. 3, I cannot make the proper name anything but Lonikos.
1. 7, ἀναδένδρας is a good classical word for vines grown among trees for the purpose of support; it is a disposition constantly to be seen in southern Italy and Greece to the present day.
1. 9, Dynis was probably a neighbouring steward.
1. 11, I cannot read or interpret the new word κριθοπύρων in any other way.
1. 14, Mr. Bury has suggested to me that ὄροι must be the simple form from which the usual φρουροί (προ-οροι) is derived. If so, it is an interesting relic of very old Greek in this dialect. It is only known in the form οὔρος in Homer. The compound form replaces it in all classical Greek.

The whole document teaches us that wine and oil were cultivated by the new settlers in their farms. I do not understand the curious dating on the back, but the reading is quite clear, and I have offered a solution. Of the handwriting I have spoken already. The spelling is that of an ignorant man; but I have, of course, reproduced it.



# XXX.

## FRAGMENTS OF LETTERS.

(TRANSCRIPTION.)

(1)

φιλωνιδης τωι πατρι χαιρειν καλως ποεις ει υγιανεις υγι[αινω  
και] αυτος εγραψαμεν σοι και εν ταις εμπροσθεν επιστολαις ο[τι  
α εχομεν ουδε τα οθονια ως . αν λαβωμεν π[οησον?]  
ιρομον[ ]α εν μεμφει αρρωστουντα και  
τ]ωι ασκληπειωι

ερρωσο

φαρμουθι[

(2)

επιστολα[ς  
μιν εγ  
λωσουν ποι  
ν αποστελ  
παρα σου τ

(3)

πρ]οσταξαντος  
κ]ατοικουντων  
κ]ανωπον η παρ  
ν τωι ιερωι και κανωπωι ηεμ  
μεσαι η εν  
ρας ηεμ  
ρυμεναΙ . .

## XXX.

## FRAGMENTS OF LETTERS.

## (COMMENTARY.)

I have gathered these specimens for the purposes of exhibiting the epistolary hand of the day, which is not, I think, to be paralleled in any papyri hitherto published. Unfortunately, the great size of the writing destroys all chance of our obtaining a complete document among the patches of papyrus which the coffin-makers glued together to make their cases. On a shred which might contain a whole contract, we find only a few words of a letter, and the usual form was that of a long narrow strip, which is invariably separated in the middle. We have in (1) the usual polite phrases, and then a complaint that the writer has not supplies, particularly *ὀθόνια*, which, from Polybius' use, we may translate *sail-cloth*, though in medical Greek it also means fine linen for bandages. The writer was probably sailing on the Nile, for his fellow was lying sick at Memphis, and the Asklepieion mentioned probably took the place of a hospital.

There are in Mr. Sayce's possession many more specimens of private letters, and some as complete as that reproduced in XXIX. But in the recent search I have made through hundreds of pieces of mummy-cases I have found nothing more complete in this noble handwriting of ceremony. There is some peculiarity in the shape of the  $\phi$  in (1), to which I have called attention in the palæographical remarks at the close of the Memoir.

I am tempted to conclude with a good and complete specimen, deciphered by Mr. Sayce, but not yet published. It is also in a neat and careful hand, written in capitals:—

Πολυκρατης τωι πατρι χαιρειν καλως ποεις ει ερρωσαι και τα λοιπα σοι κατα γνωμην εστιν ερρω-  
 μεθα δε και ημεις Πολλακις μεν γεγραφα σοι παραγενειθαι και συστησαι με οπως της επι του  
 παροντος σχολης απολυθω και νυν δε ει δυνατον εστιν και μηθεν σε των εργων κωλυει  
 πειραθητι ελθειν εις τα Αρσινοεια Εαν γαρ συ παραγενηι πεπεισμαι ραιδιως με τωι βασιλει  
 συσταθηςεισθαι Γινωσκε δε με εχοντα παρα φιλωνιδου το απο τουτου το μεν ημυσυ  
 εις τα δεοντα υπελιπομην το δε λοιπον εις το δανειον κατεβαλον τουτο δε γινεται  
 δια το μη αθρουν ημας αλλα κατα μικρον λαμβανειν γραφε δ ημιν και συ ινα ειδω-  
 μεν εν οισ ει και μη αγωνιωμεν επιμελου δε και σαυτου οπως υγλαινεις και προς η-  
 μας ερρωμενος ελθης ευτυχει

# INDEX

TO

## TRANSCRIPTIONS AND COMMENTARIES.

### I.

#### INDEX TO SUBJECTS.

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 [47] (1) 9; [51] (2) 3; [62]  
 (2) 6.  
 ἀπολυθῶ [80] 3.  
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 ἀποστελ [79] (2) 4.  
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 Ἀριστ [51] (2) 12.  
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 (left col.).  
 Ἀριστο [57] (2) 18; [75] (1) 4.  
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 [43] 23; [54] 9; [57] (2) 14.  
 ἀριστερῶν (ἐξ α.) [45] 1; [47]  
 (1) 5; [54] 12.  
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 ἀρ . . ξειτο [57] (2) 19.  
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 ἀρρωστοῦντα [79] (1) 4.  
 ἀρτάβας [62] (1) 5; [78] (1) 10.  
 Ἀρτεμιδώρα [57] (2) 8, 17.  
 Ἀρτεμιδωρον [59] 13 (right col.).  
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 donian month) [40] (2) 17;  
 [74] 2, 4.  
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 [45] 7, 9, 24; [47] (1) 8, 10;  
 [51] (1) 1; [51] (2) 2, 5;  
 [54] 1, 16, 28; [57] (2) 9, 11;  
 [59] 1 (left col.), 7 (right col.);  
 [62] (1) 12; [75] (1) 2;  
 [72] (3) 1; [76] (1) 1, (2) 6.  
 Ἀ . φιλαδέλφου [40] (2) 16;  
 [51] (1) 1 (right col.); [54] 19.  
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 (3) 1; [43] 5; [45] 11;  
 [47] (1) 12, (2) 4; [51] (1)  
 5, 10, (right col.), (2) 7;  
 [57] (2) 12; [59] 1 (right col.),  
 5 (left col.); [75] (3) 3;  
 [76] (1) 2, 6, (2) 3, 7.  
 Ἀρχέστρατος [47] (1) 5.  
 Ἀσιοδώρου [75] (2) 9.  
 ασκλη [76] (2) 18.  
 Ἀσκληπιάδου [47] (2) 11.  
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 Ἀσπενδῖος [67] (2) 6.  
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 ἄπτιον [57] (2) 7.  
 Αἰδναῖον (name of an Egyptian  
 month) [45] 10.  
 αἰλή [59] 17 (right col.).  
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 col.).  
 αὐτῆς [45] 15; [59] 23 (right  
 col.).  
 αὐτό (τό α) [66] 5.  
 αὐτοῖς [70] (2) 4.  
 αὐτόν [37] 4.  
 αὐτός [79] (1) 2.  
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 [78] (1) 11.  
 αὐτοῦ [45] 15.  
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 (right col.).  
 ἀφ' ὧν [47] (2) 8.  
 Ἀχαιός [33] 13.  
 ατ- [65] 9.  
 β [65] 2, 13, 16, 24.  
 β [47] (1) 11; [67] (1) 1.  
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 [45] 7; [47] (1) 8, (2) 1;  
 [51] (2) 2; [54] 16; [57] (2)  
 1, 9; [62] (2) 1; [76] (2) 5.  
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 [57] (1) 2.  
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 [33] 10; [43] 16; [67] (3) 3.  
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 τος) [54] 19. (τῆς Πτολεμαίου)  
 [51] (1) 4; (τῆς Σωσιπόλεως)  
 [75] (2) 5. -νίκη (54) 28; [59]  
 16 (left col.).

βλ. (ἐπος) [43] 4; [45] 8, 10;  
[47] (1) 9, 11; [51] (2) 4, 6;  
[59] 4 (left col.); [76] (2) 10.  
]Βισιλαν (name of a slave (?))  
[37] 9.  
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Βουβάστω [37] 12, 13.  
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[45] 12; [51] (2) 9; [54]  
22, 36.  
  
γ [78] (1) 9.  
γ (a date) [40] (2) 17.  
γάρ [80] 4.  
γεγεννημένον [45] 18.  
γέγραφα [80] 2.  
γείτονες [59] 8, 11 (right col.).  
γενείου [42] 7. -είω [45] 3.  
γ. ἐκ δεξιῶν (54) 11.  
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Γέτας [54] 32.  
γίνεται [80] 6.  
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γνώμην (80) 1.  
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γράφει [80] 7.  
γραφείσθης [74] 1.  
γυναικ[εῖα] [37] 22.  
γυναικείου [37] 18.  
γυναικός [51] (1) 9. -κί [37] 10;  
[43] 13; [51] (1) 11; [57]  
(2) 17. -κα [45] 25; [54] 2,  
29.  
γυνή [45] 16.  
  
δ [78] (1) 11.  
Δαισιον κγ (Macedonian month)  
[67] (1) 1.  
Δάμωνος (τῶν Δ. = of Damon's  
regiment) [40] (1) 13; [43]  
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δεδάνεικα [40] (2) 2.  
δέδωκεν [78] (1) 8.  
δεῖν [78] (1) 16.  
Δεινίου [47] (1) 12.  
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Δεινῶνος [43] 6.  
δεκάτον [51] (1) 2.  
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-φ [43] 25. -α [59] 3 (right  
column). -ον [57] (2) 15.  
-αν [ὄφρυν] [40] (2) 12; [43]  
14, 25; [54] 6. -ων (ἐγ δ.)  
[42] 11; [47] (1) 14; [54] 4,  
11; [59] 21 (right col.).  
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δέοντα (τὰ δ.) [80] 16.  
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[59] 12 (right col.). -ας [57]  
(1) 4, 6.  
Δημέας [75] (2) 3.  
Δημήτριος [43] 6; [54] 37.  
-τρίου [54] 37; [59] 12 (right  
col.).  
Δημοκλῆς [40] (3) 6.  
δῆμον [42] 8.  
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(right col.).  
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[80] 7.  
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διακόμματα [65] 19.  
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]διανος [43] 26.  
]διδεις (?) [37] 23.  
Διευδης (blunder for Διο-) [40]  
(2) 4.  
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[51] (2) 7; [54] 21; [57] (2)  
13.  
Διζούλου [54] 26.  
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δικασταί [75] (2) 1, 7; [76] (1)  
2, 7.  
διᾶν (?) [75] (3) 4.  
Δικαιάρχου [54] 10.  
δίκη [76] (1) 3.  
Διογένης [40] (1) 9; [51] (1) 8.  
Διωδῶρον [75] (2) 3.  
διοικεῖν [40] (1) 5; [45] 15.  
Διοκλῆς [75] (2) 7; [76] (1)  
2, 7.  
Διομήδης [67] (3) 1; [76] (1)  
2, 7.  
Διονύσιος [76] (1) 2, 7. -ίου  
[54] 4; [76] (2) 7. -ιον [37] 8.

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col.).  
δισμυρίας [62] (1) 5.  
Δίων [45] 11.  
διώρυγος [65] 20.  
δοκεῖ (ἐάν σοι δ.) [74] 8.  
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Δρπε (= 4185) [65] 4.  
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Δυ (= 4400) [65] 6.  
δυνατόν [80] 3.  
Δύνις [78] (1) 9. -νεως [78] (1)  
10.  
Δυπδτ (= 4484 $\frac{3}{4}$ ) [65] 16.  
δυτ (?) [40] (2) 12.  
Δχνηγή (= 4653 $\frac{1}{2}$ ) [66] 20.  
Δχοθ (= 4679) [66] 13.  
Δψμεγ (= 4746 $\frac{1}{2}$ ) [66] 5.  
Δωλδδδ (= 4834 $\frac{1}{4}$ ) [65] 14.  
δωμάτων [74] 10.  
Δωρίωνος [62] (2) 5.  
Δως (= 4806) [66] 15.  
  
εάμ [45] 19; [47] (1) 16.  
εάν [33] 9; [37] 5; [45] 15,  
19; [47] (2) 11, 12; [51] (1)  
12; [80] 4.  
εάν δέ τι πάθω ἀνθρώπινον καὶ  
τελευτῶ [57] (2) 16; [59] 9  
(left col.).  
εάν σοι δοκεῖ [74] 8.  
ἐγ [42] 11; [43] 5, 19; [45] 10;  
[47] (1) 11; [51] (2) 6; [54]  
4, 11, 20, 27; [59] 12 (right  
col.); [74] 5; [76] (1) 6, (2)  
6; [79] (2) 2 (before dentals  
and gutturals).  
ἐγ βασιλικῶ [43] 16; [67] (3) 3.  
ἐγ δεξιῶν [47] (1) 14; [59] 21  
(right col.).  
ἐγράψαμεν [79] (1) 2.  
ἐγράψατο [75] (2) 3, 8; [76] (1)  
3, 8.  
ἐγφάνητος [47] (2) 6.



- ἐγώ [45] 19; [47] (1) 16. ἐμοῦ [45] 18. ἐμοί [43] 10. ἐμέ [59] 4 (right col.).  
 ἐθρυθρίον (blunder for ἐρυνθρίον) [59] 20 (right col.).  
 εἰ [78] (1) 2; [79] (1) 1; [80] 1.  
 εἶ [80] 8.  
 εἰδῶμεν [89] 7.  
 εἴη [33] 10; [37] 4; [40] (3) 3; [43] 8.  
 εἴη μέμμοι ὑγιαίνοντα αὐτὸν τὰ ἐμαντοῦ διοικεῖν· ἐὰν δέ τι ἀνθρώπινον πάσχω (vel πάθω, καταλείπω, κ. τ. λ. [33] 9; [37] 5; [40] (1) 5, (3) 3; [43] 8; [45] 15; [47] (1) 15; [51] (1) 8 (with οἰκονομεῖν in place of διοικεῖν) (2) 11; [54] 24; [57] (2) 15; [59] 4.  
 εἰκοστοῦ [54] 16; [57] (2) 10:  
 εἰλήφασιν [67] (3) 3.  
 εἶναι [59] 7 (right col.); [74] 9.  
 ἐστί [43] 11; [67] (2) 3; [80] 1, 3. ἔστω [47] (2) 14; [51] (1) 12. ἔστωσαν [45] 20.  
 Εἰρήνην (daughter of the slave-woman Bisila) [37] 9.  
 ]εις [42] 7.  
 εἰς [42] 8; [62] (1) 5; [65] 19; [66] 5; [74] 7, 11; [80] 4, 6.  
 ἐ. β [65] 2, 13. ἐ. ι [65] 12; [66] 6, 9, 16, 18. ἐ. ξ [65] 9; [66] 24. ἐ. ἐπιβολήν [65] 3, 5, 17; [66] 3. ἐ. συγγραφὴν (ἐπεγράφην ἐ. σ) [67] (2) 1.  
 ἐ. ταφήν [45] 17.  
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 ἐλθεῖν [80] 4.  
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 ἔλλασσον (?) [37] 17.  
 ἐκ [ . . . ] ης [45] 20.  
 ἕκαστος [78] (1) 14. -τω [62] (2) 8.  
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 ἐκεῖ [37] 7.  
 ἑκκαίδεκάτου [67] (2) 4.  
 ἑκπλῶ [75] (1) 4.  
 ἑκτοῦ [62] (1) 1.  
 ἐμ (= ἐν) [37] 14.  
 ἐμαντοῦ [37] 10; [45] 17; [51] (1) 8. ἐ. γυναικί (= ἐμῇ) [51] (1) 11; [76] (2) 7.  
 ἐμῇ (τῇ ἐ.) [43] 13.  
 ἐμμέσῳ [66] 17.  
 ἐμπροσθεν [79] (1) 2.  
 ἐμφανές [47] (2) 13. -εῖς [47] (2) 8.  
 ἐν [62] (2) 9.  
 ἐν [33] 4; [37] 2, 6; [40] (2) 2, 17; [43] 9; [51] (1) 10; [57] (2) 12; [59] 1 (right col.) (before a guttural) τοῦ ἐ ταῖς προσόδοις (= one who controls the revenues) [62] (1) 4, (2) 3, 8; [79] (1) 2; [75] (3) 5; [79] (1) 4; [80] 8.  
 ἐνιτωος (?) [40] (1) 12.  
 ἐννεακαίδεκάτῳ [51] (1) 2 (right col.).  
 ἐνοικεῖν [43] 13.  
 ἐνσιμος [54] 34.  
 ἐνσι [37] 20.  
 ἐνφῶδία (= ἐνώτια) [37] 24.  
 ἐξείας [76] (2) 11.  
 ἐξ ἐμοῦ γεγεννημένον [45] 18. ἐ. ἐξέστω [43] 13; [45] 16, 21.  
 ἐξετῇ [62] (1) 5.  
 ἐξήκοντα [54] 11; [57] (1) 12, (2) 14.  
 ἐπαγγελομένου [78] (1) 12.  
 ἐπακολούθους [70] (2) 7.  
 ἐπαρ (?) [51] (1) 10 (right col.).  
 ἐπεγράφην [67] (2) 1.  
 ἐπεῖ [74] 9.  
 ἐπηγμένῳ (τῷ ἐπ.) [40] (2) 8.  
 ἐπηγμένων εἰς δῆμον [42] 8.  
 ἐπηγμένῳ (τῶν οὐπῶ ἐ.) [42] 2.  
 ἐπί [33] 17; [40] (2) 9. ἐ. ἀρισ-τεράν κλεῖν [40] (2) 7. ἐ. ῥινί [42] 9; [51] (2) 9; [57] (1) 13. ἐ. ἱερέως [43] 2.  
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 ἐ. τοῦ παρόντος [80] 2.  
 ἐπια . . ες [45] 20.  
 ἐπιβάλλοντος μέρους [75] (1) 5.  
 ἐπιβολήν [65], 3, 5, 17; [66] 3.  
 ἐπιγονῆς [40] (2) 11; [42] 6, 10; [43] 26; [47] (1) 2, 3, 5; [54] 5, 6, 30, 33, 35. ἐ. τῶν οὐπῶ ἐπηγμένων [75] (3) 5; [76] (1) 9, (2) 4.  
 ἐπίγρυπος [40] (1) 4, (2) 12 [54] 23, 38.  
 ἐπιμέλου [80] 8.  
 ἐπισκεψάτω [70] (2) 3.  
 ἐπιστάτου [33] 6. -τη [43] 6.  
 ἐπιστολῆς [74] 1; -αῖς (79) (1) 2; -άς [79] (2) 1.  
 ἐπίτροπον [33] 11; -ους [43] 18.  
 ἐ. αἰροῦμαι [51] (1) 12 (right col.); [54] 27 [57] (1) 2; [59] 14 (left col.).  
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 Ἐριλλος [76] (1) 3, 8.  
 Ἐρμοπολίτου [33] 7; -τῶν [33] 15.  
 ἔρρωσαι [80] 1. -μεθα [80] 1. -σο [67] (3) 4; [74] 2; [78] (2) 3; [79] (1) 6. -μένος [80] 9.  
 εσειμ (?) [45] 21.  
 ἔτους [57] (2) 10; [62] (1) 1; [67] (2) 4. ἐ. τὰ πρῶτα υἱ [78] (2) 2. -ων [54] 3, 5, 6, 13, 22, 30, 33, 35, 37.  
 ἐτρισκωσιν (?) [37] 17.  
 εὐβαταλλ (?) [33] 20.  
 Εὐβο- [33] 20.  
 Εὐεργετῶν [40] (2) 15; [47] (1) 10; [51] (1) 3; [54] 18; [59] 3 (left col.); [75] (2) 1, (3) 2; [76] (1) 5, (2) 4.  
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- Εὐκλεοῦς [76] (2) 1.  
 εὐμεγέθης [33] 15, 20; [40] (1) 8, (3) 10; [42] 10; [43] 1, 7; [45] 3; 47 (1) 13; [54] 5, 8, 11, 38; [57] (1) 7. -οῦς [59] 14 [right col.).  
 εὐρίσκομεν [74] 5.  
 Εὐρυμέδοντος (τῶν 'Ε.) [45] 2.  
 εὐσημος [54] 14.  
 'Εὐτυχον (slave of Peisias, the Lycian) [37] 8.  
 Εὐφρονης [47] (1) 3.  
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 ἔχει [78] (1) 9. -ομεν [79] (1) 3; -ουσιν (45) 16. -ων [40] (3) 9; [51] (1) 7. -οντα [80] 5. -όμενα [59] 15, 22 (right col.).  
 'Εχετίμης [62] (1) 2.  
 ἐχρησάμην [78] (1) 9.  
 'Επειφ (vel Εφειφ) (Egyptian month) [47] (2) 10; [65] 11; [66] 19.  
 εφισ . . [51] (1) 8 (right col.).  
 'Εψοβ/τ-πδ' . . (= 5772/1-380½ . .) [66] 1.  
 ἔως [47] (2) 10; [74] 11.  
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 εωτης [47] (2) 5.  
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 Ζηνόδωρος [67] (2) 2.  
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 Ζώνη (?) [37] 19.  
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 Ζωπυρίωνος [62] (2) 5; [75] (2) 4; [75] (3) 6.  
 ἥ [79] (3) 3.  
 ἦ [37] 16.  
 ἦ [67] (3) 3.  
 ἦ [65] 5.  
 ηεμ (?) [79] (3) 4, 6.  
 ηιαρ [70] (2) 2.  
 'Ηλιοπολίτη [47] (2) 5.  
 ἡμέις [80] 2. -ᾱς [80] 7, 8. -ῖν [80] 7.  
 ἡμιόλιον [47] (2) 14.  
 -ημονος [75] (2) 9.  
 ἦμυσ (= ισυ) [47] (2) 9; [80] 5.  
 ἦν [67] (2) 2; [74] 1; [75] (2) 3, 8.  
 'Ηρακλεώτης [33] 5, 12; [45] 11; [54] 6, 21.  
 ἦς [67] (2) 3.  
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 Θεαρίστιος [62] (1) 3.  
 θεῖς [78] (1) 2.  
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 Θείσωνος (?) [76] (1) 1.  
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 Θεογενής [47] (2) 4. -οῦς [54] 18; [57] (2) 3, 10.  
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 Θεόδοτος [43] 24.  
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 θεοσωιδ (?) [75] (3) 4.  
 Θεοφίλου [54] 30.  
 θε[ρίστρου] (= -ρίον) [37] 18, 20.  
 Θεσσαλός [54] 30. -ῶ [59] 11 (left col.).  
 θεῶν [51] (1) 1.  
 θεῶν ἀδελφῶν [43] 3; [45] 7, 9, 24; [47] (1) 8, 10, (2) 15; [51] (1) 3; [52] (2) 3, 4; [54] 1, 16, 18, 28; [57] (2) 11; [67] (2) 5; [75] (2) 1, (3) 1; [76] (1) 1, 5, (2) 6, 8.  
 θεῶν εὐεργετῶν [40] (2) 15; [43] 3; [45] 9; [47] (1) 10; [51] (1) 3, (2) 4; [54] 18; [75] (2) 1, (3) 2; [76] (1) 5, (2) 4.  
 Θεώνος [59] 16 (right col.).  
 θησαυροῖς [70] (2) 3.  
 Θραίξ [40] (3) 8.  
 Θραίσση [54] 26.  
 θυγατρός [51] (1) 13. -τρί [59] 13 (left col.). -τέρα [37] 9.  
 θώ]ρακα [43] 11.  
 θωρακίτ[ον] [43] 12.  
 Θωυθ (Egyptian month) [67] (1) 1; [70] (2) 8.  
 ἱ [65] 12; [66] 6, 9, 12, 14, 16, 18.  
 ἱα [66] 2.  
 ιαμω (?) [62] (2) 7.  
 'Ιάσων 'Ιάσωνος [54] 2.  
 Ιάσωνος (?) [75] (2) 2.  
 ιβ [66] 5.  
 'Ιβυσεῖος (a slave's name?) [37] 11.  
 ιγ [66] 19.  
 ιερώς [43] 2; [45] 8; [47] (1) 10, (2) 2; [51] (1) 2, (2) 3; [54] 17; [62] (1) 1; [70] (2) 1; [75] (1) 1, (2) 5; [76] (1) 2, 4, (2) 1, 7.  
 ιερός [59] 17 (right col.). -οῦ [59] 8 (right col.). -ῶ [79] (3) 4; ἱ. οἶκω [59] 22 (right col.). -όν [59] 7 (right col.). -ῶν [59] 6 (left col.).  
 ιζ [47] (2) 10.  
 ἱ]λάρχης [40] (1) 8; [47] (1) 12.  
 'Ιλλύριος [40] (1) 3.  
 ἱνα [80] 7.  
 ἱππαρχίας [51] (1) 5 (right col.); [54] 3, 10; [57] (1) 4, 6.  
 'Ιπποκράτους (τῶν 'Ι.) [54] 13; [57] (1) 14.  
 ἱππον [33] 10; [37] 10.  
 ιρομον[α] [79] (1) 4.  
 ις [56] 11.  
 'Ισθμειός [54] 37.  
 ιχενχα [43] 14.  
 ιχλτιδ (τῶν ι. ?) [40] (3) 3.  
 κα . βαι [59] 16 (left col.).  
 κα [67] (3) 4.  
 κβ [65] 1.  
 κβ [74] 2, 4.  
 κγ [51] (2) 1; [67] (1) 1.  
 κε [70] (2) 8.  
 κς [33] 4.  
 κη [76] (1) 6, 10.  
 καθά [45] 20.  
 καθειρηκότος [74] 6.  
 καθηκ [57] (2) 20.  
 καί [37] 8, 11; [47] (1) 1, 8, 12, (2) 8, 11, 14; [80] 3, *et passim*.

καινόν [65] 11, 13, 15, 23, 25;  
[66] 6, 8, 14, 17, 19.  
καινού [37] 20, 24.  
κακοπώγων [33] 17.  
Καλλιάνακτος [54] 19; [57] (2)  
12; [76] (1) 6.  
Καλλικράτης [67] (2) 7.  
Καλλίμαχος [45] 1.  
Καλλιφανούς [62] (2) 4.  
καλῶς [79] (1) 1.  
καλῶς ποεῖς [78] 17; [80] 1.  
Καμίνοις (ἐν ταῖς κ., the name of a  
village in the Fayyum) [57]  
(1) 10.  
κανηφόρου [40] (2) 16; [43] 3;  
[45] 9; [47] (1) 10; [51] (2) 5;  
[57] (2) 4; [59] 3 (left col.);  
[75] (3) 2; [76] (1) 5, (2) 5.  
Κάνωπον [79] (3) 3.  
Κανώπω [79] (3) 5.  
Κάρ [47] (1) 5.  
Καρδιανῶ [76] (1) 9.  
κατά [74] 4, 10; [75] (2) 10.  
κατὰ γνώμην [80] 1.  
κατὰ μικρόν [80] 7.  
κατὰ πρόσωπον (τὰ κ. π.) τοῦ ἱεροῦ  
[59] 8 (right col.).  
κατάρριν [51] (1) 7.  
κατακριθῆ μου [47] (2) 12.  
καταλείπω [33] 9, 11; [37] 5;  
[43] 15; [47] (1) 15; [51]  
(1) 9; [57] (1) 2.  
καταλιμπάνω [43] 9; [45] 17.  
καταλίπω (= εἶπω) [54] 26.  
καταμεμετρημένων κλήρων (?) [37]  
2.  
κατασκευήν [37] 13.  
κατέβαλον [80] 6.  
κατεδικάσθη [75] (2) 3, 8; [76]  
(1) 3, 8.  
κατοικούντων [79] (3) 2.  
κε [65] 15.  
Κερκιωνος [66] 9, 14.  
Κίλλης (a man's name [42] 4.  
κ λ. αν (?) [59] 19 (right col.).  
κλαστόθριξ [54] 23; [57] (1) 10.  
κλαστός (= curly-haired) [54] 7.  
Κλεανδρός [45] 3.  
κλήρου [65] 18; [66] 16. -ον  
[51] (1) 7 (right col.).

κλεῖν [40] (2) 7.  
κληροῦχος [33] 16, 18; [43] 22;  
[45] 2, 4, 5, 12; [54] 13.  
κοινή [59] 17 (right col.). -νῇ  
[37] 13.  
-κράνης [40] (3) 13.  
κριθήσομαι [47] (2) 11.  
κριθοπυρῶν [78] (1) 11.  
Κροκοδύλων πόλει (ἐγ Κ. π.) [43]  
5; [45] 10; [47] (1) 11;  
[51] (2) 6; [54] 20; [57] (2)  
12; [59] 1; [74] 5; [76] (1)  
2, 6.  
κτῆμα (?) [59] 6 (right col.).  
κτῆσμαι [43] 15.  
-κτομισθος (?) [54] 13.  
Κυρηναῖος [47] (1) 3; [62] (1) 3.  
κυριεύσειν [57] (2) 18.  
κυρίου [59] 13, 19 (right col.).  
-ίαν [57] (2) 3. -ίων [74] 6.  
-ίους [74] 10.  
Κωίος [54] 33.  
Κωίαν (?) [37] 17.  
κωλύει (cum gen.) [80] 3.  
κωμάρχου [62] (2) 10.  
κωμῇ (ἐγ κ.) [37] 12; [76] (2) 6.  
κωπ (?) [43] 21.  
Λ [45] 6, 10.  
λακ (?) [65] 9.  
λαμβάνειν [80] 17. λάβωμεν  
[79] (1) 3.  
λειδοι [67] (3) 1.  
λειπῶν [65] 7.  
λευκόχως [33] 21; [40] (1) 10,  
(2) 5; [42] 3; [43] 28; [45] 4;  
[54] 4; [69] 19 (right col.).  
-χρων [33] 2.  
λεων [37] 23.  
λεωνίας [76] (2) 6.  
λιβός [59] 17 (right col.).  
Λίβυς [54] 35; [59] 2 (right  
col.).  
λίμνην [62] (2) 9.  
λιχα (λιχ) (τῶν λ. = a division  
or a regiment?) [47] (1) 13;  
[51] (1) 6.

λόγον διαγράψω [47] (2) 9.  
λοιπῇ [67] (3) 3.  
λοιπόν (τὸ λ.) [47] (2) 13; [80]  
6. -πα [43] 14; [80] 1.  
Λοκρός [76] (1) 3.  
λόφον [51] (1) 6 (right col.).  
λοχαγός [40] (3) 12.  
λ. τὸ- [65] 1.  
Λυκίδι (wife of Peisias the Lycian)  
[37] 10.  
Λύκιος [37] 1.  
Λυσιμαχεύς [43] 31.  
Λυσιμάχου [62] (1) 4. -χον [62]  
(1) 3.  
Λωίον (Macedonian month) [76]  
(1) 6, 10.  
Λωνικός [78] (1) 3.  
-λωσουν (?) [79] (2) 3.  
Μαιάνδριος [76] (1) 2, 7.  
Μακεδών [33] 16, 17; [45] 5;  
[47] (1) 2; [51] (1) 4 (right  
col.); [54] 8; [57] (1) 8, 11,  
14. -δόνος [75] (2) 4, (3) 6.  
μακεται (?) [40] (1) 7.  
μακροπρόσωπος [37] 3; [47] (1)  
6, 13; [54] 31; [57] (1) 5, 7.  
μακρότερος [43] 7.  
μαλακο [37] 23.  
μάρτυρες [33] 13; [40] (2) 4,  
(3) 6; [43] 21; [54] (2) 30;  
[57] (1) 3. -vs [67] (2) 1.  
Μᾶρκ (= 14120) [65] 8.  
με [80] (2) 4, 5.  
μεγάλη [59] 12 (right col.). -ης  
[65] 19.  
μέγας [43] 30,  
μεγέθει [37] 3; [40] (2) 5, 9;  
[43] 30; [45] 6; [47] (1) 4;  
[54] 7, 31, 33; [59] 12, 19  
(right col.).  
μείζω [40] (2) 13; [57] (1) 13:  
[59] 15 (right col.).  
μελάγχρου [59] 14 (right col.).  
μελαινίδα [45] 17.  
μελίχρους (= -χρως) [43] 7, 22,  
24; [45] 6; [47] (1) 2, 7;  
[51] (2) 9.



- μελίχρως [33] 15, 18, 20; [40] (3) 7; [43] 1; [54] 5, 11, 31, 34, 36; [57] (1) 7.
- μέμ (= μέν) [33] 8; [43] 8.
- Μέμφει [79] (1) 4.
- μέν [59] 4 (right col., before μ); [74] 11; [80] 2, 5.
- μενει [59] 24 (right col.).
- Μενεκρατείας [43] 4; [47] (1) 10; [51] (2) 5.
- Μενιδείας [76] (2) 5.
- Μένιππος [47] (1) 12.
- Μεννέα [59] 18 (right col.).
- Μεννέον [59] 18 (right col.); [62] (1) 3.
- μερίς (division of a nome?) [40] [40] (1) 2; -δος [59] 23 (right col.); [76] (2) 7. -δι [62] (2) 4. -δα [62] (2) 10.
- μέρος [59] 23 (right col.). -ους [75] (1) 5.
- Μεσορει (Egyptian month) [47] (2) 12; [65] 5, 15.
- μέσος [33] 14, 18 μ. μεγέθει [37] 3; [40] (2) 5, 11; [43] 30; [45] 2, 6; [54] 31, 33; [57] (1) 12, (2) 14; [59] 3 (right col.). -σφ [42] 1; [43] 8; [45] 14; [47] (1) 1; [54] 7, 14, 31. -ση (blunder for μέση) [59] 19 (right col.). μ. ρινί [33] 8; [47] (1) 3. -σον [33] 19. μ. όφρύων [54] 37; [59] 20 (right col.); [65] 18. -σαι [79] (3) 5.
- μετά [51] (1) 6 (right col.); [59] 13, 19 (right col.).
- μετείναι [37] 15.
- μέτρησις έργων [62] (2) 3.
- μετώπφ [33] 14; [43] 1, 11; [45] 6, 14; [47] (1) 1. μ. έγ δεξίων [47] (1) 4; [54] 4, 7, 9, 14, 32.
- μή [47] (2) 11, 12, 13 (with inf.); [74] 9; [80] 7, 8.
- μηθέν [80] 3.
- μήλου [45] 13. -λα [43] 30; [59] 15 (right col.).
- [94]
- μηνός [62] (1) 2; [43] 4; [57] (2) 12; [59] 1 (right col.); [67] (2) 5; [76] 6, 10; (2) 6.
- μηνός Αύδναίου [45] 10.
- μηνός Γορπιαίου κγ [51] (2) 6.
- μηνός Περιτίου [47] (1) 11.
- μικρόν [80] 7.
- μιν [79] (2) 2.
- μισθος [43] 24.
- μονε (?) [43] 17.
- μονίμου [59] 20 (right col.).
- Μοσχίωνος [47] (1) 9; [43] 25; [45] 8; [59] 12 (left col.); [75] (2) 4, (3) 6.
- μοῦ [45] 16; [51] (1) 13. μοί [33] 8; [37] 4, 6, 7; [40] (1) 6, (3) 3; [43] 8; [45] 19; [47] (1) 16, (2) 7, 12; [59] 6 (right col.); [74] 1.
- μονεπιπροσεωρου (?) [75] (2) 2.
- μυκτῆρι [42] 1; [45] 1. -ῆρα ἀριστερόν [54] 9.
- μυλλός (= crooked) [37] 3.
- μυσταί [59] 23 (right col.).
- ]μωνος [45] 12.
- να . . ιλλος [47] (1) 4.
- ναιος (?) [40] (1) 13.
- νανβια (= sum-total?) [65] 2, 6, 8, 12, 14, 20, 24; [66] 4, 5, 10, 13, 15, 18, 20, 22.
- Νεάνδρον [47] (1) 5.
- Νείλων [54] 35.
- Νεκτενιβιος [65] 10.
- ]νιαις [33] 21.
- Νίκ[ανδρ]ος [33] 17.
- Νικάνωρ [57] (1) 3. -ρος (τῶν Ν.) [45] 5.
- Νίκωνος [62] (2) 4, 6.
- νιν (πρὸς νιν?) [40] (2) 1.
- ν [65] 2, 13, 16; [66] 14, 19.
- νοῶν καὶ φρονῶν [37] 1; [43] 5; [45] 11; [47] (1) 12; [51] (2) 7; [54] 21; [57] (2) 13; [59] 2 (right col.).
- νοιτον (by dittography) [43] 5.
- νόμαρχίας [47] (2) 6; [62] (2) 4.
- νομοῦ [47] (2) 4; [51] (1) 3 (right col.); [57] (2) 13; [75] (1) 3, (3) 3.
- νότου [50] 17 (right col.); [59] 9 (right col.).
- νουμηγία [54] 20.
- νῦν [74] 6, 11; [80] 3.
- ξ [65] 8; [66] 24.
- ξί- [47] (2) 8.
- Ξανδίκου (Macedonian month) [47] (2) 3; [54] 15, 25; [57] (2) 5, 8.
- ξηληφ (?) [76] (2) 2.
- Ξενοκλῆς [40] (2) 1.
- ξετυσητια [51] (1) 12 (right col.).
- ογ γος (?) [62] (2) 11.
- όγδοιήκοντα [54] 22; [57] (1) 9.
- όδ (= ὅδ?) [65] 14.
- όδός [59] 9 (right col.); [59] 11 (right col.). ό. δημοσία [59] 18 (right col.). -ον [66] 7.
- ]οις [45] 1.
- όθόνια (= sailcloth) [79] (1) 3.
- οίκημα [67] (2) 8.
- οικίαν [37] 11; [43] 10 (ό. έμοι ύπάρχουσιν). -ιών [74] 9.
- οικονομεῖν (= the more usual διοικεῖν) [51] (1) 8.
- οικονόμφ [47] (2) 5.
- οἶκος ιερός [59] 17 (right col.). -κφ [59] 22 (right col.), [76] (2) 7. -κων [74] 7.
- ]οισε (?) [37] 4.
- οιταιος [51] (1) 6.
- όμολογεί [47] (2) 4.
- όντα (τὰ ό.) [47] (1) 16.
- όντος [78] (1) 13.
- όξύρριν [54] 11; [57] (1) 10. -ινος [59] 15 (right col.).
- όπλα [33] 10.
- όπως (cum conj.) [80] 2.
- όρων (= watchers?) [78] (1) 14.
- ός [43] 11. οἷς [59] 8 (right col.); [80] 8.
- όσα [37] 15; [40] (3) 5; [43] 14, 15.

- ὄτι [78] (1) 13; [79] (1) 2.  
 οὐ [37] 24; (with infin.) [78] (1) 16.  
 ουγαστη (?) [51] (2) 13.  
 Ουδαναεύς [67] (2) 1.  
 οὐδέ [79] (1) 3.  
 οὐθέν [40] (2) 3; [51] (2) 13; [54] 21. οὐθένι [40] (2) 3; [51] (2) 13; [54] 26.  
 οὐλή [33] 8, 14, 17, 19, 20; [40] (2) 9; [42] 3, 7; [45] 3, 6, 13, 14; [47] (1) 1, 3, 14.  
 οὐλὴν ἔχων [51] (1) 7; [54] 4, 9, 11, 14, 34, 36; [57] (1) 10, 13, 15; [59] (3) 21 (right col.).  
 οὖν [79] (1) 3.  
 οὐπω ἐπηγγμέν[ων (τῶν ὁ. ἐ.) [42] 2.  
 οὖς ἀριστερόν [43] 23.  
 ὀφειλημάτων [47] (2) 11.  
 ὀφειλωσιν (after ὅσα = ὅσα ἄν.) [40] (3) 5.  
 ὀφθαλμόν [54] 32.  
 ὀφρύς ἀριστεράς [33] 17. -ύι [59] 3, 8 (right col.). -υν [40] (2) 12; [43] 2, 25; [45] 3, 13, 14. -ύων [33] 19; [54] 36.  
 ὀχετεύομεν [78] (2) 1.  
 πάθη [51] (1) 12.  
 πάθω [33] 9.  
 παι (?) [45] 21.  
 παῖδα [43] 17. -ας [37] 8.  
 παιδίον [57] (2) 17. -δία [47] (1) 16.  
 παλαίου [65] 17; [66] 3.  
 . . παμον (?) [47] (2) 6.  
 παν(ο)πολ (?) [47] (2) 5.  
 πάντα [51] (1) 9; [57] (1) 1; [59] (10) (left col.).  
 παρά [40] (3) 9; [62] (2) 9; [74] 3, 5, 11; [78] (1) 10; [79] (2) 5; [80] 5.  
 παρὰ (τοῦ π. Ζ. = the agent of Ζ.) [62] (2) 5.  
 παρὰ Νικῶνος (τοῦ π. Ν.) [62] (2) 6.  
 παρ' οὖς ἀριστερόν [43] 23.  
 παρ' ὀφθαλμόν [54] 32.  
 παρ' ὀφρύν δεξίαν [43] 25; [45] 13.  
 παραγένεσθαι [80] 2.  
 παραγενῆ [80] 4.  
 παραδείσων [47] (2) 7.  
 παρ[α]δοξον [76] (2) 10.  
 παραμείνωσιν [45] 19.  
 παράσχωμαι [47] (2) 13.  
 παρασο [70] (2) 7.  
 παρατάξεσθαι [47] (2) 8.  
 παρεπίδημος (= a sojourner) [54] 22.  
 Πάρις [54] 30.  
 παρτοι [70] (2) 7.  
 παρών [67] (2) 1. -όντος (ἐπὶ τοῦ π.) [80] 2.  
 πᾶσα [78] (1) 5.  
 πασιτος [62] (2) 10, 12; [65] 7.  
 πάσχω [43] 9.  
 πατήρ [67] (2) 7. -τρί [79] (1) 1; [80] 1.  
 Πατρῶνος (τῶν Π. = of Patron's regiment) [33] 16.  
 Πανι (ἐν τῷ Π. name of an Egyptian month) [47] (2) 9, 11.  
 πειράθητι [80] 4.  
 Πέκυσσις [65] 10. -σιος [65] 21.  
 Πεισίας Λύκιος [37] 1.  
 Πεισικράτης (vel Πισ-) [37] 16. -τει [37] 6, 13, 15.  
 πεντήκοντα [54] 3, 38.  
 πεντακοσίαρχος [33] 18; [40] (3) 2; [45] 12; [51] (1) 6.  
 πέπεισμαι [80] 4.  
 περί [28] (1) 6; [47] (2) 10; [62] (2) 9; [70] (2) 7. τῶν π. Λυσίμαχον [62] (1) 3.  
 περίοδοι [76] (2) 7.  
 περιτας (?) [45] 5.  
 Περιτίον (Maced. month) [47] (1) 7, 11; [67] (2) 5.  
 Περσή[ς] [43] 29.  
 πεφύτευται [78] (1) 4.  
 πεψανητος (?) [59] 10 (right col.).  
 πη [45] 19.  
 ποεῖς [78] (1) 1; [80] 1. -ησον [79] (1) 3.  
 πόλει [43] 5; [47] (1) 11; [51] (1) 5; [54] 20; [57] (2) 12; [59] 1 (right col.); [74] 5; [75] (3) 3; [76] (1) 2.  
 Πολεμών [76] (1) 3, 8.  
 πολλάκις [80] 2.  
 πολλή [78] (1) 2.  
 Πολυκράτης [80] 1.  
 Πολύνδικος [57] (1) 11.  
 ποτίζομεν [78] (2) 1.  
 πράξις [47] (2) 14.  
 προγεγ [57] (2) 20.  
 Προεφρωνιος [75] (3) 3.  
 πρὸς [40] (2) 1; [70] (2) 5; [80] 8. π. τῷ ἱερῷ οἴκῳ [59] 22 (right col.). π. βασιλικά [47] (2) 14.  
 προσδιαγράψω [47] (2) 12.  
 προσενήνεγκται (= εκται) [37] 14.  
 προσόδοις [62] (1) 4.  
 προστάξαντος [79] (3) 1.  
 προσφνεῖς [57] (1) 8.  
 προσφυκοδομήκασιν [74] 7.  
 πρόσσωπον [59] 8 (right col.).  
 πρόσσωπος [47] (1) 1.  
 πρότερον [78] (1) 15.  
 πρῶτ' [33] 7.  
 πρῶτα (ἔτους τὰ π. ιι.) [78] (2) 2.  
 πρωτιωνος [76] (1) 9.  
 Πτολεμαῖος [33] 14; [43] 29. -μαίου [40] (2) 14; [43] 19, 20; [45] 7; [51] (1) 1, 4; [54] 1, 27, 28, 29; [59] 1, 15 (left col.); [67] (2) 4; [75] (3) 1. -μαίω [33] 10; -μαίων [51] (1) 13 (right col.).  
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 ]ραιος [42] 6.  
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- ὠς Lμ. [43] 6; [59] 14 (right col.).  
 ὠς Lμς [59] 12 (right col.).  
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- [τ stands for drachme].  
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 τλβ (= drachmae 32) [37] 20.  
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*[Faint, illegible text from a manuscript page]*

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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom. It is shown that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics, and that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics.













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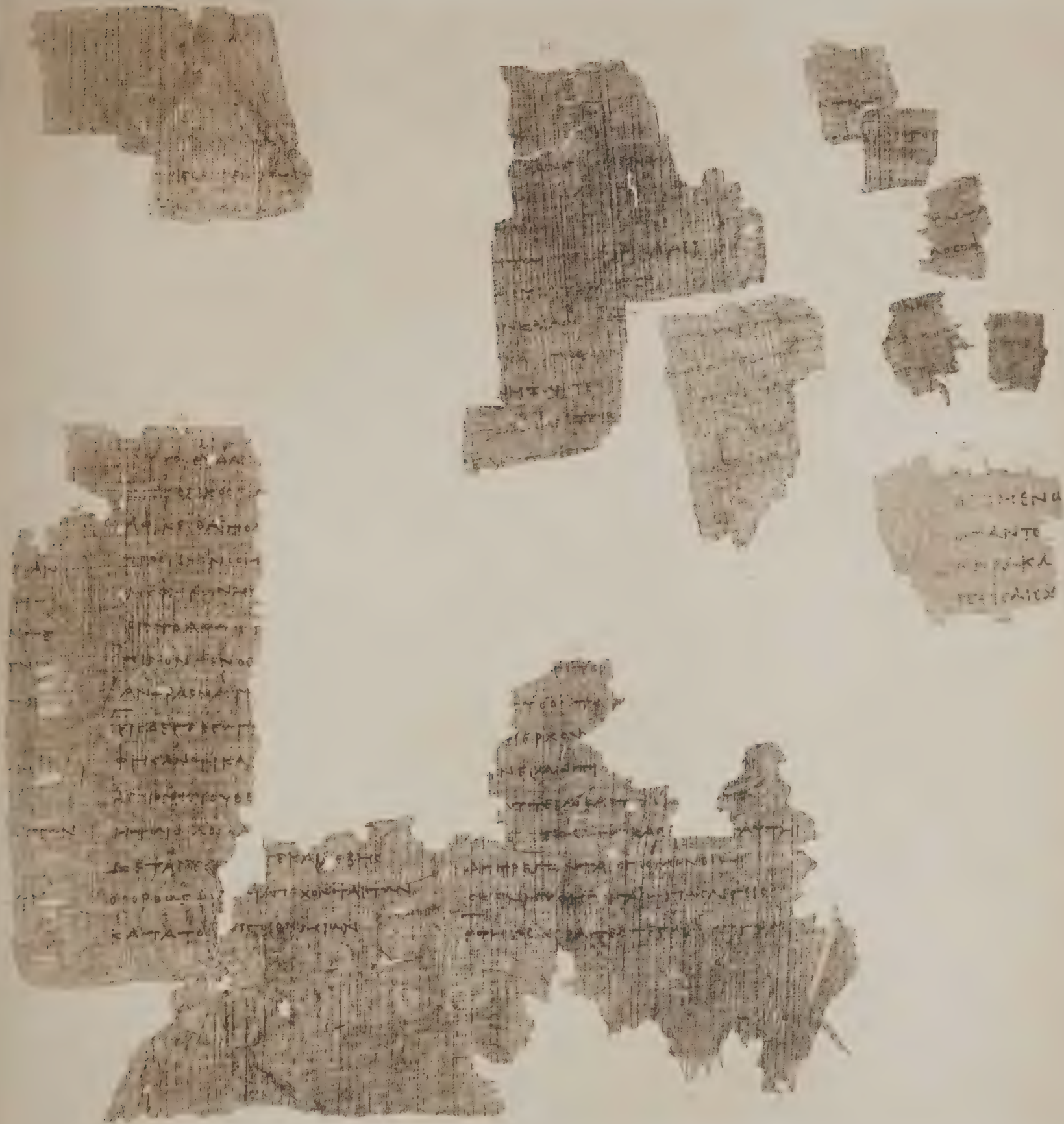
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*[The page contains faint, illegible markings, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.]*

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The image shows a fragment of an ancient manuscript, possibly from the Dead Sea Scrolls. The text is written in a cursive script, likely Hebrew or Aramaic, on a dark, heavily stained, and damaged piece of parchment or leather. The text is arranged in two main columns. The left column contains several lines of text, though many characters are obscured by damage and staining. The right column also contains text, but it is more heavily obscured by a large, irregular tear and significant staining. The overall appearance is that of a well-preserved but severely deteriorated historical document.



# XI.

WILL OF A HERACLEOTE, A CAVALRY OFFICER.

Fragment of a papyrus scroll containing Greek text, likely a will of a cavalry officer from Heracleote. The text is written in a cursive hand and is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing and the surface showing signs of wear and discoloration.











0.3.1

The fragment shows three columns of text in an ancient script, likely Coptic. The text is written in dark ink on a light-colored, textured surface. The fragment is irregularly shaped, with some edges missing. The text is arranged in three vertical columns, with the rightmost column being the most legible. The script appears to be a form of Coptic, with characters that are somewhat stylized and compact. The fragment is labeled 'P. 10' in the bottom right corner.

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P.5

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The image shows a single page from an antique manuscript. The text is written in a dark, cursive script, possibly a historical form of a European language. The page is heavily stained and discolored, with numerous brown and black marks obscuring much of the original text. The ink is faded, and the paper is aged and yellowed. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words appearing to be in a different script or language than others, possibly indicating a mix of languages or a specific dialect. The overall condition of the page is poor, suggesting it is a fragment or a page that has been damaged over time.

*[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]*





(1)

2

Fragment 1 (left): A vertical strip of papyrus with several lines of hieroglyphic text. The text is written in a cursive style. A small, light-colored rectangular label with the number "10" is affixed to the right side of the fragment.

Fragment 2 (right): A vertical strip of papyrus with several lines of hieroglyphic text. The text is written in a cursive style. A small, light-colored rectangular label with the number "2" is affixed to the right side of the fragment.

Fragment 3 (bottom): A horizontal strip of papyrus with several lines of hieroglyphic text. The text is written in a cursive style. A small, light-colored rectangular label with the number "3" is affixed to the left side of the fragment.





1

Fragment 1: A large, irregularly shaped piece of papyrus with two columns of text. The left column contains approximately 15 lines of text, and the right column contains approximately 10 lines. The text is written in a cursive script. A small number '241' is visible at the bottom center of the fragment.

2

Fragment 2: A rectangular piece of papyrus with a single column of text. The text is written in a cursive script. A small number '242' is visible at the top left of the fragment.





[illegible]





P.3.1

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25. I

0.5. II

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text]*



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Fragmentary papyrus scroll with Greek text in two columns. The text is written in a cursive hand and is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing and the remaining text being illegible due to fading and physical wear.





(1)

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text]*

(2)

[illegible]

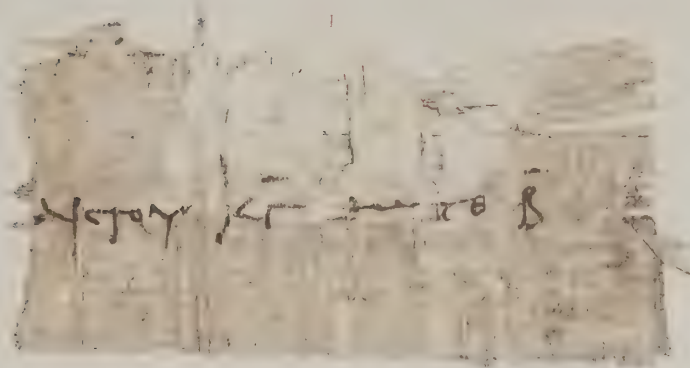




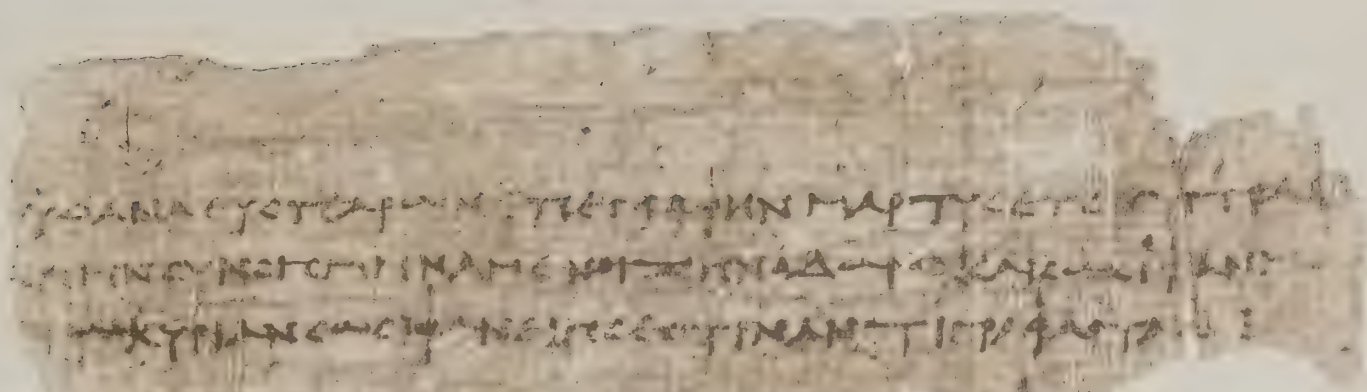
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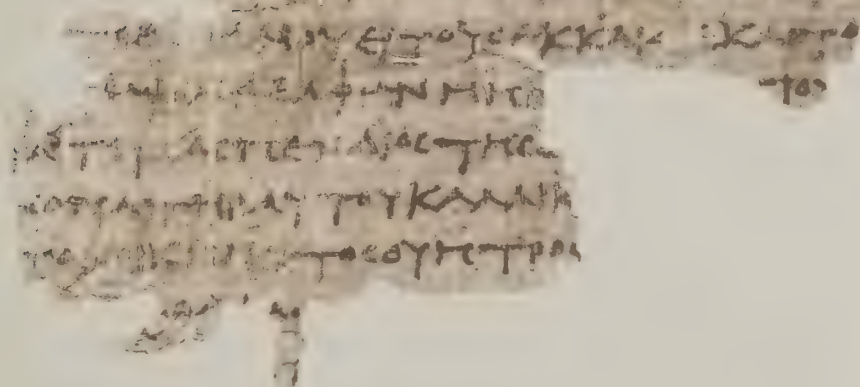


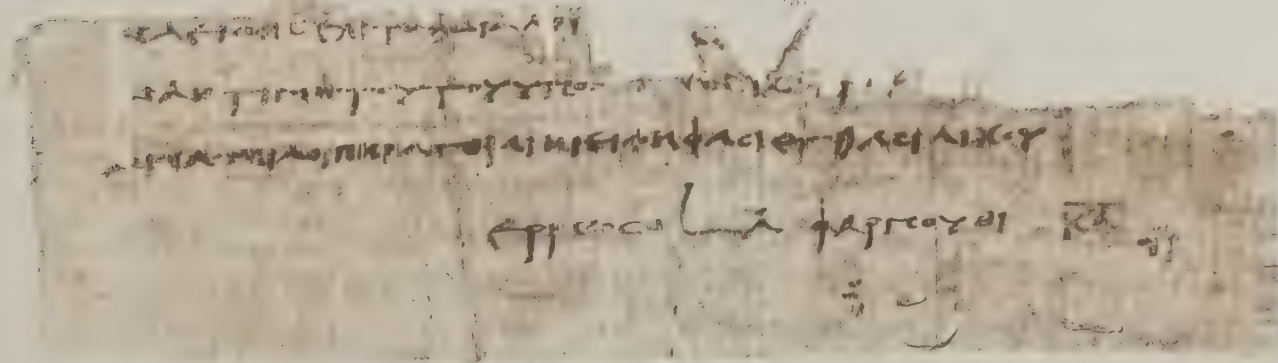



 This fragment shows a single line of handwritten text in Cyrillic script. The text is partially obscured by a horizontal line, possibly a signature or a separator. The visible characters include "Мстѣ", "ѣ", "кѣ", and "ѣ".

(2)


 This fragment contains three lines of handwritten text in Cyrillic script. The text is written in a cursive hand and appears to be a continuation of a legal document. The characters are somewhat faded and the ink is dark.


 This fragment shows two lines of handwritten text in Cyrillic script. The text is written in a cursive hand and appears to be a continuation of a legal document. The characters are somewhat faded and the ink is dark.


 This fragment contains three lines of handwritten text in Cyrillic script. The text is written in a cursive hand and appears to be a continuation of a legal document. The characters are somewhat faded and the ink is dark.









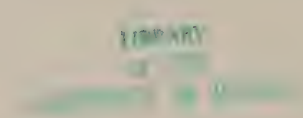


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*[Faint, illegible handwritten text]*











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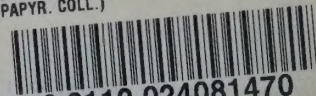








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